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FOCUS

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POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Perspective

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Congress Must Return to the People's Business

Since the opening gavel sounded in January, the 101st Congress has had very little to brag or write home about. The House of Representatives has been so embroiled in ethics investigations—some of them apparently initiated as thinly disguised partisan attacks—that it has only passed a handful of bills.

Meanwhile, many major issues that affect the health of the nation as a whole and the black community in particular are being largely ignored. Surely, it is time for Congress to return to the people's business.

Two national issues which require immediate attention are discussed in this month's *Focus*. They are the deterioration of public education and the decline in affordable housing.

While Rep. Julian Dixon (D-Calif.) has recently been in the news as chair of the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, the panel charged with investigating ethics transgressions, his Low-Income Housing Revitalization Act, introduced in February, has received scant attention. The bill, as described by Congressman Dixon on the adjoining page, would use tax policy to encourage the renovation and construction of low and moderate-income housing. Immediate action is critical, he notes, since "hundreds of thousands if not millions of Americans, including families with children, live on the streets and in shelters ... [while] thousands of public and private housing units are vacant, needing rehabilitation." Dixon further observes that while our government enacted the Housing Act of 1949 to promise a decent home and suitable living environment for every American family, "that promise has yet to be kept, and for many families it is little more than a mockery."

The chronic inequality in public education, which offers only second-class schooling to many black and Hispanic children, is also discussed in this issue. In *Visions Of A Better Way: A Black Appraisal of Public Schooling*, reviewed here, the Joint Center's distinguished Committee on Policy for Racial Justice calls for new directions in the nation's approach to public education. The committee demands that the schools "shift their focus from the supposed deficiencies of the black child—from the alleged inadequacies of black family life—to the barriers that stand in the way of academic success." The committee members challenge blacks and other minorities as well as educators, public officials, and corporate leaders to take direct political action to push education reform to the top of the nation's policy priorities.

On the political front, this issue of *Focus* includes short commentaries written by Ronald H. Brown, chairman of the Democratic National Committee; Rep. William H. Gray, the newly elected House Majority Whip; and Harvard law professor Christopher Edley, Jr., who was issues director for Massachusetts governor Michael Dukakis' presidential campaign.

The continuing quest for stronger black political participation is aimed at improving the social and economic conditions of black Americans and indeed the quality of life for all Americans. In this year's elections, in the 1990 mid-term elections, and of course in the 1992 presidential election, we will be challenged to redouble our efforts. And on a daily basis we must seek to influence both public officials and public policies by our informed activism.

As Congressman Dixon writes: "We share a sense of urgency because something has to be done. Not tomorrow. Not next year. Now." ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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Housing: Recognizing the Crisis, Taking Action

California Congressman Proposes Legislation to Address the Shortage of Affordable, Decent Housing for Lower-Income Americans

by Rep. Julian C. Dixon

In 1985, a black judge on the Los Angeles Municipal Court found a creative way to deal with our country's deteriorating lower-income housing stock. Judge Veronica Simmons McBeth sentenced a notorious slumlord to 30 days in one of his own rodent-infested buildings. The slumlord, like his lower-income tenants, had to live with shattered glass, peeling plaster, broken plumbing, and loose electrical wires. In a poetic and legal sense, justice was truly served.

Other creative ideas must be enlisted if our nation is to recover from the most serious housing crisis in a generation. Hundreds of thousands if not millions of Americans, including families with children, live on streets and in shelters. Almost one million families are on lengthy waiting lists for public housing, and many lists are closed to new applicants. Thousands of public and private housing units are vacant, needing rehabilitation. And rising rents have been outstripping the availability and level of rent subsidies.

That is why I have introduced in Congress the Low-Income Housing Revitalization Act (H.R.1005), designed to encourage the renovation and construction of low and moderate-income housing. Others in Congress have also begun to act. We share a sense of urgency because something has to be done. Not tomorrow. Not next year. Now.

The Housing Shortage: "No Vacancies Until 2001"

Choose any community in America and the story remains the same. In my hometown of Los Angeles, there are thousands of people on a waiting list for the Section 8 federal rent subsidy program, and they will have to wait at least two years before their applications are approved. The waiting list has been closed to new applicants since September 1986. In the shadow of the nation's Capitol, 13,000 people in need of adequate housing are on a 10-year waiting list for apartments in public housing projects.

Or consider the case of a woman in Providence, Rhode Island. Last year, she received a letter validating her eligibility as a "very-low income" applicant for federal housing. "Unfortunately," said the letter, "there are no appropriate-sized apartments available at the present time .... You probably will not be admitted before March, 2001."

Forty years ago, our government enacted the Housing Act of 1949, which promised "a decent home and suitable living environment for every American family." Today, that promise has yet to be kept, and for many families it is little more than a mockery. As a 1988 report by Harvard's Joint Center for Housing Studies concluded, "America is increasingly becoming a nation of housing haves and have-nots."

To lead minimally decent lives, the poor need affordable housing. But there is less and less of it available. Only 28 percent of lower-income families eligible for housing assistance will receive it this year. To cope, families in already crowded public housing projects double up, and some even triple up. Out of the 174,000 public housing units in New York City, as many as 50,000 are illegally occupied by more than one family, up from 17,000 two years ago.

Since 1980, 2.5 million lower-income housing units have disappeared from the housing stock nationwide, either because of neglect or conversion to luxury condominiums or office buildings. The Washington, D.C.-based Children's Defense Fund estimates a shortfall of four million affordably priced units nationally. And according to a 1987 study by Massachusetts Institute of Technology professor Phillip Clay, if current circumstances and policies continue, our nation will suffer a shortfall of 7.5 million privately-owned low-income housing units by the year 2000.

This housing squeeze shatters hopes and burdens families. Almost two-thirds of all lower-income renters pay at least 50 percent of their income in rent, according to a study just released by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities and the Low Income Housing Information Service. Among blacks and Hispanics of all income levels, one in five devote more than half of their income to housing. That leaves little for food and other basic needs—let alone for education, health, or child care.

(Continued on page 4)

Rep. Dixon (D-Calif.) chairs the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct and is also a member of the Committee on Appropriations of the U.S. House of Representatives.

Housing

(Continued from page 3)

But this is not just a question of being able to afford housing. It is also about providing decent housing. In this, the richest nation in the world, having a roof over one's head is not enough. In the 1960s, nearly one-fourth of the nation's housing stock lacked complete plumbing facilities or was considered dilapidated. Although that has changed for the better, approximately 7.4 million housing units were considered substandard in 1985—Third World conditions for American citizens.

> *Families with children make up one-fourth of the nation's homeless population, and in many cities they make up well over half.*

One of the key factors behind the American housing tragedy is poverty. More than 32 million of our fellow citizens live in poverty, and another 22 million are barely surviving at just 50 percent above the poverty line. In real dollars, incomes for the poor and working poor have stagnated or declined in the last decade.

For those without the means to pay, there is often nowhere to go but the streets. Estimates of the homeless population in America range from 300,000 to more than two million. Perhaps even more shocking, families with children make up one-fourth of the nation's homeless population, and in many cities they make up well over half. For the working poor, homelessness frequently leads to unemployment because a worker without a home often cannot keep a steady job. And for the black working poor, who live with the additional burden of job discrimination, this combination can be permanently disabling.

Reagan's Housing Policy: A Legacy of Shame

President Reagan's policies worsened the housing crisis. Funding for federal housing assistance was slashed a staggering 82 percent in the Reagan years, from more than $41.6 billion to $7.4 billion (all figures are in constant 1988 dollars). It would have been cut even more had Congress not appropriated almost three times what Reagan requested. The shortfall of affordably priced lower-income housing has more than doubled over the last decade.

During the 1970s, federal assistance helped to build or rehabilitate approximately 200,000 units each year. That number is now down to fewer than 25,000, with only a small portion allocated for family housing because most of the units are intended for senior citizens. Moreover, most of the new construction or rehabilitation during the 1980s was approved under the Carter administration and had little to do with Reagan administration policies. Had we kept the housing budget frozen at the FY80 level, 1.5 million more families could have been housed.

The housing pipeline is now running dry. The one Reagan initiative, housing vouchers, added no new units and does not protect renters from rising urban housing prices. Compounding the problem are hundreds of thousands of privately-owned low-income housing units that may soon be lost to their residents. The special mortgage program that spurred construction of these units in the 1960s and 1970s may soon enable the owners to sell the apartments or rent them at prevailing market rates. That may mean higher rents, more condominium conversions, increased stress on government housing programs, and more homelessness.

Unfortunately, President Bush has not requested a single dollar for new public housing construction. Bush's budget request of only $1 billion for public housing modernization is also inadequate. A 1987 study by Clark Abt Associates of Cambridge, Massachusetts, commissioned by the Department of Housing and Urban Development, estimates that between $18 billion and $22 billion is needed to repair and restore the current public housing stock.

Time for Action

Before the Reagan years, federal housing programs had bipartisan support, even from the most conservative legislators. It is time to rebuild this national consensus on housing. While no single solution will solve our nation's housing crisis, the Low-Income Housing Revitalization Act could help reverse the decline in affordable housing by providing tax incentives to private investors willing to rehabilitate, renovate, or build low- and moderate-income rental housing units. The bill would amend the 1986 Tax Reform Act by extending the low-income housing credit beyond the expiration date of December 31, 1989, and shorten the depreciation recovery period on low-income rental property from 27.5 to 20 years.

While this bill would provide developers with a "carrot" to construct rental units, it would also eliminate tax breaks for owners who fail to keep units up to local housing standards. Currently, owners of substandard units can claim federal tax deductions without making necessary repairs and renovations. Under my bill, owners who maintained their units would get the tax deduction, while slumlords who let their tenants live in unsafe and unhealthy conditions would not. This approach has worked in California, which issued more than 1,500 notices of noncompliance in 1987 resulting in $268,165 of forfeited state tax breaks.

The bill currently has 47 sponsors, Democrats and Republicans, and hearings are expected later this year in Rep. Charles Rangel's (D-N.Y.) Ways and Means Subcommittee on Select Revenue Measures. The bill may eventually be included in a modification of the entire low-income housing tax program. Other bills to expand federal housing programs are also making their way through Congress. The bottom line is that more must be done to address the nation's housing crisis.

This is not a black problem or a white problem, but an American problem. Our nation has waited far too long to address our housing needs, and the situation worsens daily. The millions of people on the edge of survival can no longer wait. It is time to act. ■

June 1989

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Inside This Issue

- Congressman William Gray becomes the first black House majority whip in the history of the Congress.
- Early indications suggest that few blacks are likely to be appointed to federal judgeships by George Bush.
- New York City schools remain troubled as the city searches for a successor to black chancellor Richard Green, who died in May.

Congressman Gray Whips Adversity

The champagne flowed on Flag Day, June 14, in the offices of Pennsylvania Representative WILLIAM H. GRAY after his first-ballot election victory to become the majority whip in the U.S. House of Representatives, the third highest position in the House Democratic leadership. Gray will replace TONY COELHO (D-Calif.), who resigned earlier this month after reports surfaced that he was being investigated for alleged improper investment activities. Gray's achievement is historic in that no other black legislator has ever reached such high rank. He will play a major role in forming legislative policy and will be his party's point man in moving bills through the House.

In just over ten years in the House, Gray has also occupied two other leadership posts never before attained by a black. He served two terms as chair of the powerful House Budget Committee and was elected chair of the House Democratic Caucus at the end of the last Congress (see TL November-December 1988). As whip, a post once held by new speaker **TOM FOLEY** (D-Wash.), Gray now ranks in the House behind Foley and Majority Leader **RICHARD GEPHARDT** (D-Mo.). (When Rep. **JIM WRIGHT** [D-Tex.] resigned as speaker this month in the face of charges of financial impropriety, Foley, then majority leader, moved up to replace him, and Gephardt was elected to the majority leader's post.)

As with his other leadership positions, Gray had to overcome stiff competition to become whip. But after intense, non-stop campaigning he garnered enough support from House Democrats to sweep the other two contenders, chief deputy majority whip DAVID BONIOR (D-Mich.) and BERYL ANTHONY JR. (D-Ark.) who chairs the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee. Surprising many who expected a close race requiring a run-off vote, Gray won with 134 votes on the first ballot (Bonior received 97 and Anthony 30).

To get that far, Gray had to first overcome an allegation that he was being investigated by the FBI for carrying a no-show employee on his congressional payroll. The allegation had been leaked to the press by a Justice Department source on May 30, just as the race for House whip was heating up. Outraged at the timing of the leak, Gray quickly responded by questioning publicly whether someone at the Justice Department was attempting to sabotage his campaign for the post and by demanding that the leak be investigated by Attorney General RICHARD THORNBURGH. At first the allegation seemed to cast doubt on the ethics of Gray's conduct. But members of Congress from both parties soon joined in a storm of protest aimed at the Justice Department, creating a backlash that may have actually helped Gray. All remaining doubts were erased when, just two days before the whip election, Thornburgh sent Gray a letter confirming that he was not the target of an investigation.

Born in Baton Rouge, La., Gray moved with his family to Philadelphia where his father and grandfather both pastored Bright Hope Baptist church in a black neighborhood on the city's North side. Congressman Gray, himself a minister with two masters degrees in divinity, is the pastor at Bright Hope today and returns home to preach 35 to 40 Sundays a year. The North side provided the political base from which he has run for the House of Representatives. In his first bid for elective office in 1976, Gray lost narrowly to black incumbent Congressman **ROBERT NIX,** but he beat Nix convincingly two years later. Gray's meteoric ascent to whip testifies to the fact that he is one of the most skilled politicians in America.

He brings to his new position the deft touch of a negotiator and solid experience as a coalition builder; both should be useful in a House scarred by partisan fighting. He proved his ability to make deals by getting

budgets through Congress when Ronald Reagan was in the White House and the Republicans controlled the Senate during the 99th Congress (1985 and 1986). As a vice chair of the Democratic Leadership Council, a group of Democratic elected officials dominated by moderates and conservatives mainly from the South and West, Gray has shown that he can work with policy makers ranging from the left to the right of the political spectrum. Yet he has also maintained his own commitment to progressive politics, being one of the chief legislative proponents of economic sanctions against South Africa and working hard to get minority business set-aside legislation passed. Gray, who is 47, also has demonstrated that he has the intelligence, ability, and experience to be a major political force on the national scene for years to come.

Bush's Bad Start on Appointing Black Judges

Despite what may be his good intentions, GEORGE BUSH is off to a poor start at appointing blacks to federal judgeships. According to the Justice Department, there are presently 47 vacant judgeships—12 on federal appellate courts and 35 on lower district courts. But so far only one black candidate—Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) chairman CLARENCE THOMAS—has been named to fill any of these empty seats. Black bar associations and civil rights groups are concerned that the pattern established by RONALD REAGAN of excluding blacks from the federal bench is continuing under President Bush. But some of the blame for this slow start in black appointments must be shared by Republican members of Congress, since they recommend most of the candidates for lower-court judgeships to the Justice Department.

The 47 judgeships at issue are among the 757 judicial posts mandated by Article III of the U.S. Constitution. These life-term presidential appointments include federal district, appeals, and Supreme Court judges, as well as the nine members of the Court of International Trade. During his two terms in office, Ronald Reagan named 385 judges (more than half of the entire federal bench)—the largest number appointed by any president in history. His appointees were mainly white men from the ideological right. Only seven (less than two percent) were black: six appointments to district courts and one to an appeals court. Reagan's record of black judicial appointments is the worst since the presidency of **DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.** By contrast, **JIMMY CARTER** conferred 38 of 265 appointments (14 percent) to blacks, more than any other president.

These judicial appointments are significant because federal courts rule on major issues that affect the lives of every American—including equal employment opportunity, the right of women to have abortions, employee drug testing, and the right of privacy. Many civil rights advocates, already alarmed that Reagan-appointed judges are shifting the courts toward limiting affirmative action remedies in employment cases, are worried that the trend may be continued by Bush appointees. The U.S. Supreme Court has recently struck down the city of Richmond's minority business set-aside program and has handed down three other rulings that will make it more difficult to prove and correct discrimination in employment. Each of Reagan's appointees to the Court concurred in those rulings (these decisions were anticipated by civil rights attorney Frank Parker in his article, "The Supreme Court: Which Way on Civil Rights," ***Focus,*** **October 1988).**

By tradition, nominees to district courts are recommended by U.S. senators from the same party as the president. An exception is New York, where by a gentlemen's agreement, Republican Sen. **ALFONSE D'AMATO** selects three judges for every one selected by his Democratic New York colleague, Sen. **DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN.** Several senators use "merit committees" to screen applicants for vacant judgeships. These arrangements differ in states where there are no senators from the president's party. In Michigan, for example, a clearance committee of Republicans selects three or four names to send to the Justice Department; the committee is made up of the state's seven Republican members of the U.S. House of Representatives, the chair of the Michigan GOP, and the chair of the 1988 Bush-Quayle presidential campaign committee. **Senators and clearance committees in Alabama, Illinois, Maryland, Michigan, and Pennsylvania have already recommended candidates for some of the 35 federal district court judgeships now vacant, but none from these states are black (see table below).**

It is unlikely that many blacks will be selected for judgeships because few of them have been included on lists of judicial candidates and few have been invited to participate in the selection process. This is due, in part, to the legacy of the Reagan administration. "Reagan made it pretty clear early on that he wasn't interested in appointing blacks to the courts, so they stopped applying," says JAMES COLE, legal counsel at Clorox Company and president of the National Bar Association (NBA). In addition, merit committees generally attract candidates through passive recruiting techniques, like advertisements in legal publications and newspapers, but few of them use outreach mechanisms to actively bring blacks into the process. JOHN CRUMP, executive director of the NBA, complains that his organization, which has a network of 12,000 black attorneys, judges, law faculty and students nationwide, has not been used as a resource for judicial selections by members of Congress or the Reagan and Bush administrations. "We really don't have the input we would like to have," says Crump. **IRWIN EVANS,** who just completed a one-year term as president of the California

Association of Black Lawyers, notes the same problem at the state level. Says Evans, "[Senator] **PETE WILSON** (R-Calif.) hasn't asked us to recommend any names for judgeships and doesn't request our input." None of California's 17 district judges appointed during Wilson's six years in office has been black. Crump also notes that few blacks have been picked through merit selection committees, saying, "it only becomes *merit* when it's convenient to throw up a road block against blacks."

Despite a general failure by Republican members of Congress to choose blacks for lower courts, President Bush has indicated his intention to nominate Clarence Thomas to fill a vacancy on the District of Columbia Circuit Court of Appeals. That vacancy was left by ROBERT BORK, who resigned the post after a Senate majority voted not to confirm him for a seat on the U.S. Supreme Court. While civil rights organizations have not taken a position on Thomas's pending nomination they did oppose, unsuccessfully, his appointment to the EEOC chair for a second term during Senate confirmation hearings in 1986. The NAACP gave the agency low marks for its enforcement of equal employment opportunity laws under Thomas's leadership.

Another factor that seems to be blocking the nomination of blacks to federal judgeships is confusion over policy on the political party affiliation and judicial philosophy of candidates. Several officials involved in selecting district judges say that blacks were rarely appointed to judgeships by the Reagan administration because few black attorneys are Republicans. Yet Bush administration officials have told NBA president Cole that non-Republicans would be considered. "We are trying to attract as many minorities and women into the judiciary as possible with the understanding that about 90 percent of federal judges come from the party of the president," says Murray Dickman, an assistant to Attorney General Richard Thornburgh. Dickman adds that candidates are not required to pass an ideological litmus test but *are* expected to reflect the philosophy shared by Thornburgh and the president of rejecting "judicial activism." If the Bush administration does request assistance in locating black candidates, one person who is prepared to provide the White House with a list of qualified black attorneys, including Republicans, is ALTHEA T.L. SIMMONS, director/chief lobbyist

Vacant Federal District Judgeships in Selected States With Large Pools of Black Attorneys

State & Individual District	Main City in District	Number of Vacancies	Nomination Status as of June 14, 1989
Alabama			Republican clearance committee has recommended two names for the Northern District and four for the Southern—*no blacks.*
Northern	(Birmingham)	1	
Southern	(Mobile)	1	
California			Sen. Pete Wilson (R) has not recommended anyone to fill this vacancy.
Central	(Los Angeles)	1	
Illinois			Rep. Robert Michel (R) has sent three names to the Justice Department—*no blacks.*
Northern	(Chicago)	1	
Louisiana			Republican Patronage Committee is preparing a list of names to send to the Justice Department—*no blacks.*
Western	(Lafayette/Opelousas)	1	
Maryland (One state district)	(Baltimore)	2	One seat will go to Marvin Garbis who was nominated by Reagan but not confirmed. For the other seat, Rep. Helen Bentley (R) will recommend three names from about 13 candidates—*no blacks.*
Michigan			Republican clearance committee has sent three names to the Justice Department—*no blacks.*
Eastern	(Detroit)	1	
New York			Sens. Alfonse D'Amato (R) and Daniel Moynihan (D) have recommended four candidates to the Justice Department. One person named by D'Amato is black.
Southern	(Manhattan)	4	
Eastern	(Brooklyn)	2	
Pennsylvania			Republican Sens. John Heinz and Arlen Specter have recommended one candidate each for the Western and Eastern Districts—*neither is black.* No recommendation has been made for the remaining Western District seat.
Western	(Pittsburgh)	2	
Eastern	(Philadelphia)	1	
Texas			Republican Sen. Phil Gramm's office refused to provide any information to *Focus* for this report.
Southern	(Houston)	1	

Source: Joint Center for Political Studies. (Information on the number of judicial vacancies and their locations was provided by the U.S. Department of Justice.)

of the NAACP Washington Bureau. Although Simmons is willing to take a wait-and-see attitude toward the Bush administration, she says, "I don't see the president doing anything outside of the Reagan mold so far." All five of Bush's first judicial nominees (each of them white) were originally nominated by Ronald Reagan but were not confirmed by the Senate during the last Congress. For civil rights advocates and leaders in the black legal community, George Bush will show that he is committed when he starts sending lists of judicial candidates back to senators if they don't include any names of blacks.

Death of N.Y.C. Chancellor Exacerbates City's Education Crisis

The recent death after only 14 months in office of Dr. RICHARD R. GREEN, New York City's first black chancellor of schools, has left that city's troubled school system in disarray. Given New York's current fractious mayoral campaign during a period of high racial tension, choosing a successor may be extremely difficult.

New York City's public schools suffer in magnified form nearly every problem found in urban schools across America. With slightly less than a million students and nearly a thousand school buildings, the city's school system is the nation's largest. **Its schools continue to experience some of the highest dropout rates and lowest standardized test score averages in the country, as well as growing in-school violence and severe overcrowding. (Causes of and solutions to problems such as these are discussed in a recent Joint Center publication, "Visions Of A Better Way: A Black Appraisal Of Public Schooling," reviewed in this issue of *Focus*). Yet in his very short tenure, Green had made substantial progress toward improving the education available to the city's youth. Given the complexity of the system's entrenched central bureaucracy, as well as the highly politicized and, of late, scandal-prone decentralized school boards, Green's accomplishments surprised many.**

Green, who died at the age of 52 of a lifelong asthma condition on May 11, was regarded by many who worked with him as an effective reformer. He reduced the bloated central school board bureaucracy by eliminating roughly one-fifth of its staff positions, and scraped up enough public/private funding to ensure the rehabilitation of more than 100 elementary school libraries over the next three years. **Moreover, among the many initiatives Green established were two instructional programs that have received wide attention: an evening high school program, which offers a full school-day's course work after-hours for working youths and adults, and a summer preparatory program for at-risk youngsters, which has proven so popular it will be doubled in size this summer to accommodate roughly 20,000 kindergarten and first-grade students.**

Yet some of the school system's fundamental problems—low achievement, school violence, drug abuse—will linger as formidable obstacles for Green's successor. The next chancellor will also inherit a major continuing dilemma: how to engineer significant parental involvement in the city's schools given a decentralized school board structure that has been rapidly losing the public's trust. Decentralization and parental involvement are issues that other city school systems, such as Chicago's and Milwaukee's, are also grappling with. New York City's 32 locally elected boards run all the elementary and junior high schools in its five boroughs (the high schools are centrally governed by a single, appointed board of education). These local boards are increasingly under fire as problems of corruption and mismanagement continue to surface. They are routinely described in the media and by reformers as being dominated by politicians and school employee unions that allegedly treat much of school hiring as political patronage. Last year, when board members of Districts 9 and 25 in the Bronx were indicted by grand juries on bribe-taking charges, Green had to suspend both boards altogether.

Green's other efforts to reform the existing administrative system were largely frustrated. Although he urged parents to run for board seats and vote in elections, turnout in New York's recent May 2 board elections was estimated at six percent of eligible voters, the lowest rate in 20 years. Green had also tried to get a law passed that would keep politicians and school employees off the local boards; that proposal was blocked, however, by a federal court.

The search for Green's successor is expected to be drawn-out and marked by friction, just as Green's appointment was last year. With a student population that is 38 percent black and 34 percent Hispanic, the central school board is under pressure to fill the chancellorship with a minority candidate. That pressure became evident when the board's two minority members strongly objected to a proposal to extend the transitional chancellorship of BERNARD MECKLOWITZ, Green's deputy, to a nine-month interim period. Mecklowitz, a white educator, is recognized for having improved Brooklyn's District 1 schools when he served as superintendent there. Nevertheless, the two dissenting board members fear that extending his transitional term would be read by minority parents as an attempt to get Mecklowitz into the chancellor's post permanently. Given the condition of the city's schools, the intensity of the city's electoral politics, and New York's heated racial atmosphere, few expect the next candidate to escape the intense scrutiny Richard Green endured on his way to becoming chancellor of the nation's largest school system.

How to Run a Better Democratic Campaign in 1992

Three Black Democrats Reflect on the Shortcomings of Their Party's 1988 Election Strategies and Recommend Different Approaches for the Future

Editor's note: The following observations of the 1988 presidential campaign by three prominent Democrats are part of a series of articles on Democratic and Republican electoral politics which will appear in Focus *as the Joint Center looks ahead to 1992. Providing their appraisals here are: Ronald H. Brown, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, who was a senior political advisor to the Dukakis-Bentsen campaign and headed Reverend Jesse Jackson's Democratic Convention team; Rep. William Gray (D-Pa.), House Democratic Whip; and Christopher Edley, Jr., Harvard Law School professor, who was issues director for Governor Dukakis's presidential campaign.*

Ronald H. Brown

Running a Campaign Strategy of Inclusion

There is a huge difference between running a party primary campaign and running a general election campaign. Three differences are especially worth keeping in mind for 1992 and beyond.

First, it is possible for a candidate to do well in the primaries by relying on a relatively narrow group of core supporters—narrow in terms of region, economic class, and so on. But in order to win a general election, the candidate must appeal to a much larger and more diverse population. The candidate therefore has to strike a balance: he or she must maintain and invigorate the core support groups while simultaneously reaching out to new parts of the electorate.

Michael Dukakis's strategy during the fall of 1988 was to reach out to the so-called Reagan Democrats. This strategy was partly successful; but by putting so much effort into attracting that group, Dukakis seemed to neglect some of the Democratic Party's most loyal supporters, including black Americans. The blacks who voted, of course, voted overwhelmingly for Dukakis. The problem was that Dukakis did not court this core group of Democratic voters energetically enough to increase their turnout.

Second, it is possible for a candidate, particularly a well-financed candidate, to do well in the primaries even though he or she does not have an experienced campaign team. In order to win a general election, however, the candidate must recruit the most talented and experienced campaign professionals available. This generally involves getting good people from other campaigns.

The Dukakis staff seemed reluctant to bring anyone new into its senior ranks after it emerged from the convention victory. As a result, Dukakis went into the general election with a group of senior advisors who had virtually no previous experience running a presidential campaign. Further, most of Dukakis's senior staffers were from the Northeast and knew little about the rest of the country.

Third, there is a relationship between my first point, broadening the base of support, and my second point, shaping the campaign team for the general election. If a Democratic presidential candidate wants to do well in the South, he or she must have senior campaign operatives who know the South and are known in the South. The same is true if the candidate is trying to attract support from other regions. To run a successful presidential campaign, a candidate must have experienced professionals who reflect this country's great diversity.

William H. Gray

Winning on the Right Issues

There is much Democrats can do to improve their presidential campaign strategies, but our highest priority must be to deal with the right issues in the right way. The four key ingredients for a winning campaign recipe require future Democratic presidential candidates to be: strong on defense, tough on crime, resolute in advocating human rights around the globe, and compassionate on domestic policy.

Defense. First, we must address the perception that the Democratic Party is "soft" on defense. While the perception is wrong, it is nevertheless widespread, and GOP presidential candidates have capitalized on it. Future Democratic presidential candidates must take the initiative on national security questions. They must demonstrate to the public that we intend to use this nation's economic, diplomatic, and military power to protect our vital interests around the world.

Incidentally, black Americans have a growing interest in international affairs and national defense, partly because blacks are heavily represented in the armed forces. So Democratic candidates need not shy away from defense when they try to appeal to black voters.

Crime. Democratic candidates must place more emphasis on personal security and crime in the streets. We must show that we understand the daily dangers that confront so

(Continued on page 6)

How to Run a Better Campaign in 1992

(Continued from page 5)

many of our citizens, particularly the residents of our poor inner-city neighborhoods where drug abuse and violent crime are growing at frightening rates. Our citizens want better police protection; they want those accused of crimes to receive a fair and speedy trial; and they want criminals to be placed where they no longer pose a danger.

Human Rights. The Democratic Party must continue to be resolute on human rights. And our position has to be consistent: we must speak out against human rights abuses abroad whether they occur in the Soviet Union, South Africa, the Sudan, or El Salvador, and whether the perpetrators of those abuses are regarded as friends or as adversaries of the United States.

Human Needs. Democrats must be compassionate on domestic issues. We are the party that helps the disadvantaged, the aged, the handicapped, the victims of racial discrimination and economic dislocation. This is the right thing to do morally—but it also is the smart thing to do. Right now, the Head Start program reaches less than one-quarter of the children who are eligible. That's wrong for moral and practical reasons. An uneducated young person becomes an unemployed, unproductive adult, dependent on welfare and susceptible to all the wrong influences. That's also wrong, for the same reasons.

Christopher Edley, Jr.

Needed: Sensitivity and Experience

One of the most important lessons of this campaign, from my perspective, has to do with the relationship between issues and campaign strategy. That relationship is best understood by looking at what I call resource allocation decisions that have to do with which issues the candidate emphasizes, when, and before which audiences. The candidate's time and words are the most precious resources.

Resource allocation decisions are not made by the candidate, but by his or her senior staff, particularly by the people who edit speeches and plan public appearances. For this reason, the senior campaign advisors must be highly professional and they must be sensitive to the various groups the candidate needs to attract.

During the campaign, the Dukakis position papers were carefully thought out. We solicited advice from a wide range of people, from conservatives such as Senator Sam Nunn (D-Ga.) to Jesse Jackson's policy advisors such as Eleanor Holmes Norton.

But there were problems when we tried to communicate our positions to the general public. The mass media were of little help. Newspapers would quote only a few phrases from a detailed position paper on, say, education, and the electronic media dealt in 30-second "sound bites." Thus, it was up to the candidate to hit on an issue or theme, and to keep hitting on it until it got across to the voters.

This was a major breakdown in communications. Although all of the right things were in the position papers—things that blacks, among others, would have found appealing—unfortunately, those positions did not get articulated. They did not show up, or did not show up often enough, in the candidate's speeches, interviews, and debates. And the central reason is that the resource allocation decisions were not made wisely—and in particular, not made so as to motivate the minority and progressive wings of the party.

> *Presidential elections cannot be won with a bunch of amateurs recruited primarily from one part of the country—or in our case, mainly from one university, Harvard.*

Furthermore, some of us were victims of our own arrogance. Dukakis was far ahead of Bush when the Democratic convention ended, and we thought this demonstrated that we had the best candidate, the best positions on the issues, and the best strategy. This helps to explain why so few changes were made between the primaries and the fall campaign.

These observations lead me to make several suggestions about future campaigns. First, we need to find the most experienced people available. Presidential elections cannot be won with a bunch of amateurs recruited primarily from one part of the country—or in our case, mainly from one university, Harvard.

Second, once the issues have been formulated, the candidate must make the right choices about how and when to communicate them.

Third, in order for black campaign staff to influence the course of a campaign, they must be in strategic positions. From my experience, the most critical positions are those from which one can make resource allocation decisions about the candidate's schedule of public appearances, the content of speeches, the points to be emphasized in debates, and so on.

In order for blacks to occupy those positions, of course, they must have a great deal of previous experience with campaigns. Thus, we should make a concerted effort to develop a larger pool of black campaign operatives. One way to do that is to establish and support black-run organizations that are regularly involved in such activities as polling, advising on media matters, and running political campaigns. You cannot master these skills by emerging every four years from a university or a law firm to work on somebody's presidential campaign. It can only be mastered by doing it, day in and day out, for years.

We must be as well prepared to deal with the nuts and bolts of campaigning as we are to deal with issues. If we are, blacks will be better able to influence the candidates' strategies, and Democrats will fare much better in future presidential elections. ■

Visions Of A Better Way: A Black Appraisal of Public Schooling

America's Schools Must Shift Their Focus From the Supposed Deficiencies of Minority Children to Addressing Institutional Barriers to Academic Progress

"We do not accept any of the facile arguments that seek to evade responsibility for the chronic inequality in our system of education," writes John Hope Franklin in the preface to *Visions Of A Better Way: A Black Appraisal Of Public Schooling*, a recently released essay by the Joint Center's Committee on Policy for Racial Justice. "Second-class schooling for black students, based frequently on low teacher expectations, remains the norm in far too many schools," Franklin says.

Moved by this alarming fact, the 29-member committee, which includes a Nobel laureate and four MacArthur Fellows, has produced a strong statement calling for new directions in the nation's approach to public education. Guided by the expertise of committee member Sara Lawrence Lightfoot, professor at the Harvard University Graduate School of Education, the committee's statement faults public schools with reinforcing, rather than overcoming, the country's prevailing race and class prejudices.

"What we must demand," the authors write, "is this: that the schools shift their focus from the supposed deficiencies of the black child—from the alleged inadequacies of black family life—to the barriers that stand in the way of academic success." School officials, they further note, are not likely to change on their own initiative: "We can meet the challenge of ensuring a world-class education for our children *only through political activism.*"

In 1980, black youngsters were three times as likely as whites to be placed in classes for the educable mentally retarded and three times as likely to be suspended from high school. According to the authors, lingering stereotypes and teacher insensitivity contribute to these special problems. "Mistaken notions about low-income people and their lifestyles," they write, "form the basis for low expectations and self-fulfilling prophesies of failure in school." The dearth of black teachers as role models in school, they add, has only contributed to this lack of understanding.

Tracking, the grouping of students by ability or performance into homogenous classrooms, is another problem pinpointed in the essay: "The inflexibility of track placements, like the rigidity of teacher expectations, represents a problem of paramount proportions. Black and other low-income students are often imprisoned in the bottom tracks....In fact, this is one of the major reasons many black students fall further and further behind their peers academically as they advance through the grades."

The authors also voice alarm at schools' growing reliance on standardized tests, which fail to measure the most vital elements of a young person's knowledge. "Contrary to the long-standing view that intelligence is a unitary phenomenon measurable by a single test," they write, "we believe—and recent research confirms—that all people are blessed with multiple intelligences, which can be tapped through a variety of means."

Recommendations. The members of the committee believe the most fundamental step toward resolving the educational crisis is for schools to recognize the centrality of human relationships. As a model, they cite the School Development Program initiated in the public schools of New Haven, Connecticut, by committee member James Comer. In this program, parents, students, teachers, and administrators have been brought together to work cooperatively in the classroom and in other school activities. "We can no longer assume that parents and teachers share values," the authors point out. "We must...construct new patterns of interactions so that the powerful social networks that nurture and develop the child in the home and community are less alienated from the culture of the school."

The committee members observe that many models have proven their success and deserve to be emulated. They call for the abandonment of rigid systems of tracking and note that "staff development programs in multicultural education are an example of a readily available avenue that must be seized upon to address issues of diversity within regular classroom settings." They further urge that two successful early childhood education programs, Head Start and Chapter 1, receive increased federal funding so that the large number of qualified children who are not participating in these programs may do so.

Making curriculums more inclusive of black culture and attracting black teachers to the profession in greater numbers are also recommended to overcome the alienation of minority students. "Until more children look into the eyes of teachers and see themselves reflected—and until more teachers look into the eyes of children and see themselves reflected," the authors state, "many of those children will feel excluded from the educational enterprise." ■

Reviewed by Marc DeFrancis, senior editor at the Joint Center.

Copies can be purchased through the Order Department, Joint Center for Political Studies Press, 4720 Boston Way, Lanham, MD 20706; telephone 301-459-3366.

TELESCOPE

First Annual
Dr. Charles R. Drew Medical Prize

This fall, the first Dr. Charles R. Drew World Medical Prizes, sponsored by Howard University Hospital, will be awarded to two outstanding persons of color for significant contributions in health research, public health, or the delivery of health care. The awards will be presented at a dinner at the Washington Hilton Hotel on October 11, 1989. One of the two annual $50,000 prizes will be awarded to a U.S. citizen and the other to a person from a developing country.

Dr. Charles R. Drew, in whose honor the award is named, was a black physician-scientist who pioneered techniques for blood preservation. Credited with saving countless lives during World War II, Drew directed the "Blood for Britain" project in 1940 as well as the first American Red Cross blood bank supplying the Allies. He was chief of surgery at Freedman's Hospital (predecessor to Howard University Hospital) from 1941 until his death in 1950.

Howard University Hospital, which has established an endowment to recognize exemplary individuals in the health field, is now accepting nominations for this year's awards. Nominations must be received no later than August 1, 1989; recipients will be notified by September 1. Inquiries regarding nominations and the awards dinner should be directed to:

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The 1990 Census: Counting Everybody

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POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

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The Supreme Court Threatens Economic Empowerment

Economic advancement must continue to be high on the agenda of blacks and other minorities well into the 21st century. However, because of five recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions, they will have a longer row to hoe before they can achieve those advances.

Four of the High Court's decisions were rendered between June 5 and June 15 of this year, 10 days in which federal civil rights statutes barring employment discrimination enacted between 1866 and 1972 were literally rewritten by that body. With these decisions (*Wards Cove v. Atonio, Martin v. Wilks, Lorance v. AT&T Technologies,* and *Patterson v. McLean Credit Union*), the Court has seriously weakened the rights of minority and women workers by making it far more difficult and costly for them to pursue and win employment discrimination law suits under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. A fifth Supreme Court decision, *City of Richmond v. J.A. Croson Co.*, rendered last January, threatens to undermine or eliminate minority business set-asides in state and local government procurement programs.

Taken together, these five decisions may be viewed as Ronald Reagan's revenge. They show that through his Supreme Court appointees the former president is succeeding in retirement at what he failed to accomplish while he was in office—namely, to turn back the clock on civil rights.

The *Croson* decision, rendered by judges appointed by Republican presidents, is especially jarring for three reasons. First, the Office of Minority Business Enterprise was established by President Richard Nixon as part of his policy to foster "black capitalism." This policy had received strong verbal support from President Gerald Ford and other Republican leaders. Second, set-asides were designed to help minorities gain a toehold in our capitalist economic system. And finally, anything that dilutes the effectiveness of minority businesses detracts from the ability of blacks to contribute to our economy.

Nevertheless, it is important to remember that the Court's ruling on *Croson* is not the final word on minority business set-asides. The fact that the Supreme Court did not require such programs to be stopped or suspended must be underscored. Furthermore, it is still possible to establish and justify these programs. There yet remains a chance to establish twin beach-heads in the fight for minority economic progress—first by protecting and refining threatened minority procurement programs, and second by employing direct political action. Federal political action includes the push for legislation to reverse the *Croson* decision, an approach currently under consideration.

Political pressure applied to local government can also have an impact. Mayors and legislators at all levels, both black and white, can influence policy initiatives needed to open procurement opportunities for minorities. Minority entrepreneurs, likewise, must forge a new consensus with political leaders of all stripes, in the spirit of reciprocity but with the implicit understanding that these leaders can be voted out of office.

There is so much at stake. Expanded minority businesses means expanded employment opportunities and, therefore, increased tax revenues from minority communities. Black leaders must rise to the challenge. They must summon their talents to preserve set-aside programs and thereby help to promote economic advancement, not only for the sake of minority communities, but to help our economy become more productive and competitive in the world market. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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The Reagan Court: Turning Back the Clock

To Counter Recent Rulings by the Supreme Court, Members of Congress and Civil Rights Advocates Are Developing New Legislation

by David C. Ruffin

This June, with alarming aggressiveness, the U.S. Supreme Court brushed aside hard-won civil rights victories, issuing four decisions that eviscerate Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as a weapon against employment discrimination. The Court, dominated by a 5-to-4 conservative majority that includes three judges appointed by former President Ronald Reagan, has severely weakened civil rights laws that Congress has passed and prior Court decisions have affirmed over the course of 25 years.

The new decisions place greater burdens, of both time and cost, on plaintiffs who attempt to prove job discrimination. If permitted to stand, their long-term effect may be to restrict or even eliminate opportunities and reforms from which employees as well as employers have benefited.

Nevertheless, these recent rulings may yet be reversed by Congress. Rep. Augustus F. Hawkins (D-Calif.) and Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) are drafting legislation which, if enacted, would overturn the High Court decisions. Hawkins and Kennedy chair the two congressional committees that have jurisdiction over Title VII and equal employment opportunity—the House Education and Labor Committee and the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee. Summary analyses of the four key Supreme Court cases follow.

***Wards Cove Packing Co. v. Atonio*—June 5, 1989 (5-to-4).** This case involves a challenge originated in Alaska in 1974 by Alaskan native and Filipino workers who sued the Wards Cove Packing Co., a salmon cannery, for employment discrimination under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The plaintiffs used statistics to demonstrate that they were overrepresented in unskilled, lower-paying jobs in the canneries while white employees held most of the higher-paying white collar positions.

In *Wards Cove*, the Court has departed from earlier precedents, including its own 1971 landmark decision in *Griggs v. Duke Power Co.*, by diminishing the value of statistical evidence as proof that an employment practice has been discriminatory in its impact. Under *Griggs*, the employer bore the burden of demonstrating that any practice which had a "disparate impact" or had the effect of excluding minorities and women from being hired or promoted was truly required for business purposes.

The *Wards Cove* decision shifts the burden of proof most heavily onto employees. The Court has held that plaintiffs may not rely exclusively on statistics to show a historic pattern of racial imbalance. Plaintiffs must also isolate the specific aspects of an employment practice that are discriminatory. Although the employer must justify the practice once a plaintiff establishes a case of discrimination, the "burden of persuasion" remains with the plaintiff, who must offer more proof to counter the employer's claim that its employment practice has a justifiable business purpose.

***Martin v. Wilks*—June 12, 1989 (5-to-4).** This decision may ultimately lead to the reopening and relitigation of long-settled affirmative action plans agreed to by employers through consent decrees. The original *Martin* suit was filed in January 1974 against the City of Birmingham and Jefferson County, Alabama, on behalf of black municipal and county employees and applicants for employment in those jurisdictions. After years of litigation, including two trials which led to a finding of employment discrimination, affirmative action consent decrees were negotiated and approved by a federal district court in 1981. The decrees established a remedial program for hiring and promoting blacks that substantially increased black employment and mobility in the fire, police, and sanitation departments as well as other municipal agencies.

A group of white male Birmingham fire fighters who claimed to have been precluded from challenging the employment agreements filed a subsequent "reverse discrimination" challenge to the 1981 consent decrees in separate lawsuits. Lawyers for the black employees argued that these white fire fighters had received notice of the pending decrees and that they had already presented their opposition to the proposed affirmative action plans at a fairness hearing where they were overruled by a federal district judge. The lawyers also contended that since the hearing had occurred before the decrees were signed, the white fire fighters' lawsuits attacking the settlement after the fact were therefore not proper. But the Supreme Court has ruled that since the white fire fighters weren't formal legal parties in the original case, they could file suit against the decrees.

As a result of this decision, long settled cases are now open to periodic challenge by those dissatisfied with their outcome, even if those persons had knowingly bypassed opportunities to intervene in the litigation. According to Stephen Spitz, an attorney with the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law who is representing the original

(Continued on page 4)

Mr. Ruffin is editor of *Focus* magazine.

The Reagan Court

(Continued from page 3)

plaintiffs, the *Martin* precedent opens the floodgates to even more attacks on consent decrees by non-parties. More importantly, it eliminates the finality of numerous standing civil-rights consent decrees.

As a consequence of this ruling, plaintiffs and defendants may be less likely to settle cases without costly and extensive litigation. At the same time, public and private employers will probably be more reluctant to agree to affirmative action plans because of increased fear of future "reverse discrimination" litigation and liability. "We used to say, 'It's not over 'til the fat lady sings,' but since the *Martin* ruling, she keeps singing and it's still not over," says Spitz.

***Lorance v. AT&T Technologies*—June 12, 1989 (5-to-3; Justice Sandra Day O'Connor did not participate).** On the same day the Court, in *Martin*, granted white men practically unrestricted opportunity to challenge consent decrees, in *Lorance* it severely limited the time frame during which discrimination charges may be brought against seniority systems. The decision, written by Justice Antonin Scalia, holds that a challenge to an intentionally discriminatory seniority policy that is not brought within 180 days of that policy's adoption is forever waived. Importantly, the 180-day period begins not when someone is discriminated against but when the seniority policy is established.

This ruling threatens to significantly undermine the protections of Title VII available to minorities and women. It will encourage unnecessary and premature lawsuits and discourage conciliation and cooperation by employers in resolving disputes over employment discrimination. Minorities and women will be induced to file suits against seniority systems regardless of whether they themselves have been or ever would be affected by the policies.

"One of the dangerous implications of the *Lorance* case is that it may have applications beyond seniority systems," says Barry Goldstein, who argued the case on behalf of the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc. Goldstein, now an attorney with the Oakland, California, law firm of Saperstein & Seligman which specializes in civil rights cases, adds, "Employees may find it necessary to make preemptive challenges against newly instituted employment examinations, physical requirements, or even retirement programs on the theory that they might be discriminatory in the future."

In his dissent from the *Lorance* decision, Justice Thurgood Marshall wrote: "The majority [of the Court today continues the process of immunizing seniority systems from the requirements of Title VII. ... Employees must now anticipate and initiate suits to prevent future adverse applications of a seniority system, no matter how speculative or unlikely these applications may be."

***Patterson v. McClean Credit Union*—June 15, 1989 (5-to-4).** In this decision, the Court eliminated the only effective remedy available to victims of racial harassment at the workplace for redress through the law. In 1972 Brenda Patterson, a black teller and file coordinator, sued her employer, the McClean Credit Union in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, for racial harassment under Section 1981 of Title 42 of the U.S. Code. This statute, enacted by Congress in 1866, grants to all persons "the same right to make and enforce contracts...as is enjoyed by white citizens." Patterson charged that her employer subjected her to racial slurs, gave her demeaning tasks that white workers did not have to perform, singled her out for criticism, and denied her training for higher-level jobs. She also charged that the Credit Union failed to promote her to intermediate accounting clerk, and then fired her in 1982, because of her race.

Previously, the Court had regarded cases similar to *Patterson* as within the scope of Section 1981. However, during the last term, the Court—on its own initiative and without the urging of the Reagan administration—ordered a reargument of the *Patterson* case to determine if its 1976 decision in *Runyon v. McCrary* should be overruled. *Runyon* held that Section 1981 prohibits racial discrimination in the making and enforcement of private contracts.

While the Court has not overruled its prior *Runyon* decision, it has severely limited the scope of Section 1981. Justice Anthony Kennedy, writing for the majority, concluded that since Section 1981 only applies to the "making" of a contract, it cannot be used to redress racial harassment that occurs after an employment contract has been signed. In the language of the ruling, "this type of conduct [racial harassment], reprehensible though it be if true, is not actionable under 1981, which covers only conduct at the initial formation of the contract...."

As a result of the *Patterson* decision, no meaningful remedy for on-the-job racial harassment remains—neither monetary awards for the pain and suffering of being discriminated against nor punitive damages to deter such conduct in the future.

A New Commitment to Civil Rights. Shortly after the Court issued its rulings, George Bush declared that he was studying the High Court's decisions and would make no comment on their impact. He added, however, that he would aggressively enforce existing civil rights laws. Bush's pronouncements provide little reassurance to civil rights advocates who view these decisions as severely weakening long-standing civil rights statutes. For this reason, a bipartisan group of congressmen and senators, led by Rep. Hawkins and Sen. Kennedy, have joined with officials from civil rights organizations to draft legislation designed to strengthen Title VII of the Civil Rights Act and Section 1981 of the U.S. Code. The omnibus legislation, which insiders on Capitol Hill believe will be introduced some time after Congress's August recess, is expected to contain provisions that will eliminate barriers newly imposed by the Court relative to pursuing and winning employment discrimination suits. The American people will be watching to see if Congress and indeed the Bush administration possess the will to recommit the government to guaranteeing civil rights protections for the nation's minorities and women. ■

Focus acknowledges with appreciation the valuable contributions to this article by the American Civil Liberties Union, the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, and the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc.

July 1989

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Inside This Issue

- Letter from 327 economists calls for $30 billion annually to be invested in the nation's people and economic infrastructure.
- Whites in small Mississippi town, fearing loss of representation, petition to change local electoral system.
- Changing ethnic make-up of students in northern Virginia prompts review of Fairfax county school board's "minority seat."
- Across the Nation looks at states that are expected to lose congressional seats after the 1990 Census due to reapportionment.

Prominent Economists Sound the Alarm

At a hearing on July 19 before the Congressional Joint Economic Committee on Capitol Hill, Yale economist and 1981 Nobel Prize winner JAMES TOBIN called on Congress and the Bush administration to make major public investments to reduce what he described as the nation's third deficit—"the low levels of public investment in people and economic infrastructure necessary to produce a productive work force and to support a competitive economy." Tobin presented the committee with a letter signed by 327 American economists, including five other Nobel laureates, which had been drafted by JEFF FAUX, president of the Washington-based Economic Policy Institute. "The deficiency of public investment," the letter states, "will have a crippling effect on America's future competitiveness."

The letter warns that if the U.S. is to achieve higher productivity, it must educate its children better, equip its workers with advanced skills, prevent drug abuse, and provide health care to more Americans. It also calls for rebuilding the nation's infrastructure by repairing bridges, expanding airports, and extending technological innovations to small and medium-sized businesses. These investment priorities, the economists note, have been ignored over the past eight years. Meanwhile, state and local governments have been unable to compensate for federal cutbacks with resources of their own. The economists add that while the U.S. lags behind both Germany and Japan in productivity, the governments of these two competitor nations spend more for non-defense programs, proportionally, than the U.S. does.

The federal government today is spending less per capita on education and worker training than it did during the 1970s. It is also investing less in highways, mass transit, and airports. The economists predict that in the long run the U.S. cannot eliminate the federal budget and trade deficits while maintaining its high living standards unless it also expands public investment. This is particularly significant for the senior population, since, as the letter states, "the present generation of workers will have to depend on a much smaller working population to support their retirement." The economists suggest that although at least $30 billion in new public spending is needed, it could be raised from savings in military programs and agricultural subsidies, as well as new taxes.

Tobin and his colleagues are not alone in their call for greater public investment. Such investment provided major themes for Rev. **JESSE JACKSON'S** 1988 presidential campaign. In recent months, the Children's Defense Fund in Washington, D.C., and the W.T. Grant Foundation have called for increased annual spending for children and youth. The National Education Association and the government's General Accounting Office both urge more support for education. And the Ford Foundation's recent report, "The Common Good," concludes that the U.S. should allocate about $29 billion a year for new spending in education, training, and health care. In their letter to Congress, the 327 economists warn that **"a decision to ignore needed investments today will inevitably result in ... declining prosperity and the need for even greater remedial spending in the future."**

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White Minority Wants to Rewrite Rules

In western Mississippi, the small rural town of Friars Point, population 1,460, was thrust into the national spotlight recently when a small group of whites in the predominantly black town claimed their local election laws were discriminatory. Charging that the town's at-large system of electing aldermen excludes them from political participation (according to the 1980 Census they are 14.6 percent of the town's population), the white residents have petitioned for the establishment of a new electoral system with single-member districts. The petition, signed by about 20 of the town's 80 or 90 eligible white voters, was submitted to the five-member board of aldermen after white incumbent Alderman **CHARLES WILSON** lost his June 6 bid for reelection, causing the board to become all black for the first time in the town's history. Under the current at-large system, each voter votes to fill all the seats for aldermen by choosing from the full slate of candidates.

Ironically, it is blacks who have long demanded the elimination of at-large elections (e.g., in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Springfield, Illinois; and cities across the South) on the grounds that such systems dilute black voting strength. In Friars Point, where blacks outnumber whites by more than eight to one, the petitioners argue that the system is responsible for Wilson's election loss. **"Why shouldn't we, as a white minority, have the same rights as the blacks have when they are in the minority?" asks JOHN YOUNT, a white accountant who presented the petition at the July 5 board meeting. The petitioners propose creating a ward system in which one alderman would be elected from each of four wards; the geographical boundaries would be drawn so as to ensure that at least one ward was 65 percent white. Under the plan, a fifth seat would remain at-large.**

Mayor JAMES WASHINGTON and members of the board disagree, however, with the assertion that the system is to blame for Alderman Wilson's loss. Up to the day before the deadline for candidates to declare that they were seeking office, no white had done so. Wilson, according to Mayor Washington, only registered for reelection on the deadline date—at the mayor's urging. "The white people didn't campaign for him," says Washington. "He didn't even campaign for himself." Wilson's passive campaign, coupled with an in-house election study by the board which showed that only half the eligible white voters turned out at the polls, has led blacks to suspect that the petitioners may have been planning to make the challenge well before the election. At the same time, all parties agree that if more whites had gone to the polls, Wilson would have won (he lost by two votes). Yount admits that voter apathy played a part. "The whites figured, 'Why vote? We can't make a difference anyway,'" he says. But he also adds, "If he [Wilson] had been reelected, no way would we have gone ahead with this plan [to petition]."

Although blacks are reluctant to view the present system as one that denies political rights to whites, they voted unanimously to consider the petitioners' plan and explore alternative election systems. Both Washington and Yount point out that any change in the present system would not go into effect until the next election in 1993, and that any new system would have to pass the Justice Department's review for compliance with Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

While agreeing to investigate alternatives to the present system, the town's black leaders are nevertheless skeptical about the feasibility of a ward system. Washington says that a population study, commissioned by the board and now being carried out by the North Delta Planning and Development District, will likely show the black population to be as high as 92 or 93 percent of the town's total. "There's no way we could do it [establish a ward system] from a geographical standpoint," Washington argues. "We couldn't have a ward with only 48 people in it just to guarantee a 65 percent white majority." Yount disagrees, arguing that since many of the whites in Friars Point are concentrated in one area, it should be possible to create a ward that is at least majority-white. A compromise solution is expected, since all players agree that it is of the utmost importance to maintain racial harmony in the community.

Black Clout on School Board Threatened by Shifting Demographics

The Fairfax County Board of Supervisors in Virginia recently appointed **ROBERT E. FRYE** to the county school board's at-large "minority seat." Frye, a black official at the U.S. Consumer Product Safety Commission, had occupied the school board seat from 1978 to 1985 as well. **The at-large minority seat has been held by a black since the position was created in 1972. This year, however, the appointment was made amid growing concern by representatives of other minority groups in the county over the seat's purpose and function. The 10-member school board, appointed by the county board of supervisors, is made up of eight officials chosen to represent their districts and two at-large seats, one of them to be filled by a minority.**

Created in response to charges made by blacks in 1971 that the school board system had been discriminatory, the seat's primary original purpose was to insure black representation; blacks were then the dominant minority group in the county, making up 3.3 percent of its student population. Since that time, the overall minority student population has risen from about four percent to 25 percent. Asian students (at 10.4 percent in 1988) have since surpassed blacks (at 9.3 percent in 1988) as the largest minority group. And the Hispanic student population has also grown dramatically, from less than one percent in 1970 to 4.8 percent in 1988.

In view of these changing demographics, many residents from other minority groups as well as board members have questioned whether the policy of appointing a black to the "minority seat" is appropriate. "Minorities do not equal blacks. You have to keep reminding them [the board] so that it becomes a matter of practice," says school board member Armando Rodriguez, who has been serving the Mount Vernon District since last year. Rodriguez, whose appointment meant that minorities in the county are no longer limited to a single voice on the school board, is the first Hispanic ever to sit on the board and the only minority ever to hold one of its eight district posts.

In response to the concerns, Frye asserts that he does represent all groups and believes his appointment was appropriate. He plans to expand his efforts to reach out to other minority groups and to work toward increasing their participation on county advisory boards and committees. Frye is aware that in maintaining the minority seat, the board of supervisors is not likely to aggressively seek more minority candidates for other school board seats. Nevertheless, he argues, the seat is too valuable to be eliminated. Frye stresses the importance of its at-large status, which offers the latitude to address issues of interest to minorities while also serving the county's school children as a whole. Speaking in reference to the county's poor minority performance in standardized testing, **Frye says, "I think that there would be a need for the seat until significant progress has been made on minority academic performance."**

And in the Stay-Tuned Department...

Retiring Police Chief May Try to Trade Badge for Mayor's Robes in D.C.

Retiring Washington, D.C., police chief MAURICE TURNER has switched from the Democratic to the Republican party in order, observers believe, to position himself for a run at the mayor's office next year. The switch will assure Turner GOP financial support and enable him to avoid a face-off in the primaries against still-popular three-term incumbent Mayor MARION BARRY, Jesse L. Jackson, or any of at least three other local Democratic politicians in a mayoral race that is already attracting national attention.

Turner's political conversion was announced by President Bush on July 27, just one day before Barry and more than 2,000 D.C. officials and well-wishers were to celebrate the police chief's retirement. The retirement dinner attracted a surprisingly large contingent of black Republicans, and also provided Barry with a platform for demonstrating his political mastery over Turner, who could become the GOP's mayoral standard bearer next year.

Turner now becomes the second prominent black Republican to make noises about running for mayor of Washington. He was preceded by **ART FLETCHER,** a businessman and formerly assistant secretary of labor in the Nixon administration. Fletcher has made it known that he might be interested in the mayor's job if he does not become chairman of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, a position President **GEORGE BUSH** has promised him if and when a vacancy should occur.

Rep. Conyers Wants to Be Mayor of Detroit?

On July 24, black Congressman JOHN CONYERS JR. (D-Mich.) became eligible to run for mayor of Detroit against four-term incumbent COLEMAN A. YOUNG. Conyers filed petitions with enough names to put him on the ballot in the September 12 nonpartisan primary. Conyers' move has left both black and white politicos dumfounded as to his intentions. The 71-year-old Young, who recently conceded to a paternity suit, is widely viewed as both an immovable object and an irresistible force in the Motor City. Conyers, age 60, chairman of the House Government Operations Committee and a high-ranking member of the House Judiciary Committee as well, was one of a handful of black leaders who supported President Bush's nomination of William Lucas to the post of assistant attorney general for civil rights. However, Conyers withdrew his support of Lucas after the former Wayne County sheriff endorsed recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions widely viewed as anti-civil-rights.

. . . Stay tuned for TL updates of these political developments.

Dennis Hoyle, a research assistant at the Joint Center, was a contributing TL reporter/writer this month.

Across the Nation

In the April 1989 issue of *Focus,* TL looked at states expected to gain congressional seats as a result of reapportionment. In this issue, TL examines states expected to lose seats. According to Election Data Services, a Washington-based political consulting firm, states projected to lose include: Illinois, two seats; Michigan, two seats; New York, three seats; and Ohio, two seats.

ILLINOIS: Significant population losses in Chicago over the last decade may make the city a target for the elimination of at least one congressional district as the Illinois state legislature wrestles with the probability of dropping two house seats. **This may jeopardize the ability of three of the state's black members of Congress to hold on to their seats. Each of the three, CHARLES HAYES (1st South Side), GUS SAVAGE (2nd South Side, Harvey), and CARDISS COLLINS (7th Downtown, West Side), is elected from a district where the majority of the constituents are black.**

Black state legislators, though, do not expect to lose any ground to redistricting. "If there was ever a party-line issue, it's redistricting—it comes right down to Democrat versus Republican, and the Democrats control the legislature," says State Senator **EARLEAN COLLINS-GRANT,** chair of Illinois' Legislative Black Caucus.

With four-term incumbent Republican Governor JIM THOMPSON's surprise announcement on July 13 that he will not seek reelection in 1990, the Democrats, who control both houses of the legislature, could secure complete control over the redistricting process if they capture the governor's mansion. Furthermore, because blacks hold high posts in the legislative leadership, they are in a strong position to protect the districts of black Chicago representatives. Assistant majority leader Collins-Grant is the number-two person in the senate's Democratic hierarchy, and there are two black assistant majority leaders in the house as well.

The Black Caucus is prepared to go to the mat to achieve its ends. Collins-Grant says, "we're ready to go to court if necessary." That is precisely what State Senator **RICHARD NEWHOUSE** did after the 1980 Census in response to a redistricting plan that would have reduced black and Hispanic representation in Chicago. Newhouse won that fight.

MICHIGAN: Michigan faces the likely loss of two congressional seats. Because Detroit has experienced major population losses since 1980, the city's 1st District seat, held by John Conyers, and 13th District seat, held by GEORGE CROCKETT, may be vulnerable to redistricting. The two representatives are the state's only black congressmen. The legislature may consider redrawing district lines so they encompass more of the suburbs (which are predominantly white and largely Republican). Presently, the Democrats hold a strong 61-to-49 majority in the state house of representatives. But if the GOP maintains its narrow control in the state senate (20-to-18) through the 1990 elections, conflict is certain to arise over how the lines are drawn. One strong voice in the process will be that of two-term incumbent Democratic Governor JAMES BLANCHARD, who is expected to win reelection.

NEW YORK: New York State's legislators and both major political parties have their work cut out for them, as the state is projected to lose three congressional seats and could be one of the biggest state losers in the nation's reapportionment. The outcome may be a cause for concern among the state's four black U.S. representatives (from New York City), whose seats may be in jeopardy. Their districts have all lost large numbers of residents.

Even if none of the majority-black congressional districts is actually eliminated, remapping may make election more difficult for some black congressmen. For example, the 11th District (northern Brooklyn), represented by four-term black Congressman **EDOLPHUS TOWNS,** may experience a reduction in its black constituency. Redrawn in 1982 after the U.S. Justice Department rejected a plan to create a district with a larger Hispanic constituency, Towns' district has since undergone demographic shifts that may make major modifications unavoidable this time around.

The three other black congressmen who will also have their eyes on the district map are **CHARLES RANGEL,** now in his ninth term representing District 16 in Harlem, **MAJOR OWENS,** four-term congressman from the 12th District of central Brooklyn-Crown Heights, and two-term Congressman **FLOYD FLAKE.** Flake represents the diverse 6th District, covering Jamaica, southern Queens-Ozone Park, and Howard Beach (where a black man was killed during a highly publicized incident of white racial violence in 1986).

Democratic Governor MARIO CUOMO is considered a shoe-in to win his third term, an outcome that would guarantee his party the upper hand in redistricting. Party-line voting by Cuomo supporters for other statewide positions might enable the Democrats to regain control of the state senate, now dominated by the Republicans (34-to-27). "It's always been a close majority and there is concern from our standpoint," says **EDWARD LURIE,** executive director of the New York State Republican Party. "It's not out of the realm of possibility that we will lose the majority."

Black and Hispanic state legislators, however, are not relying solely on the benevolence of their colleagues in Albany to keep minority districts intact. Asked about the possibility of losing one or more black congressional seats, State Assemblyman AL VANN (D-Brooklyn), chair of the state's Black and Puerto Rican Caucus, responds, "I would hope that the Voting Rights Act would preclude that from happening." Vann believes the Caucus is in a strong position, both legally and politically, to resist erosion of minority representation.

OHIO: Two congressional seats are expected to be lost in the redistricting of Ohio. This may affect the 21st District seat, held by LOUIS STOKES of Cleveland, the state's only black congressman. Stokes has held the office since 1968, when the 21st District was redrawn by the courts after a redistricting battle he led in 1967. Gubernatorial and state legislative election campaign results will have a major impact on where the lines are drawn. **Democrats now have a comfortable 59-to-49 majority in the state house of representatives, while Republicans hold a 19-to-14 lead in the senate. The governor's seat will be up for grabs.**

Much is at stake in the election outcome. If divided rule in the state government continues, the party that gains the governor's mansion will go into the reapportionment process with the most leverage. Democratic Governor RICHARD CELESTE's second term is up in 1991 and state law prohibits him from running for a third term. Observers expect a lively governor's race, with Ohio Secretary of State ANTHONY J. CELEBREZZE JR., who has also served as Ohio attorney general, considered to be the strongest Democratic candidate. His Republican opponent in the general election is likely to be either GEORGE VOINOVICH, mayor of Cleveland, or ROBERT A. TAFT II, Hamilton County Commissioner (Cincinnati). Taft, whose great-grandfather was President **WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT** was defeated four years ago when he ran for lieutenant governor but is expected to run a strong campaign.

The 1990 Census: Counting Everybody

Experts and Activists at a JCPS Conference Consider Ways to Address the Anticipated Census Undercount of Blacks

by Joyce Allen

Every ten years, the Census Bureau of the Department of Commerce conducts a national census of the U.S. population. By April 1 of next year, designated as Census Day, millions of Americans will have completed 1990 Census questionnaires. However, a disproportionate number of blacks and other minorities will go uncounted because they will not have filled out their forms, in part out of suspicion that the information will be misused to their detriment. The resulting "undercount" is likely, as in the past, to place minority communities at a disadvantage.

An accurate census is vital to the political and economic interests of minorities, because the census is used to reapportion seats in the U.S. House of Representatives and state legislatures and to allocate billions of dollars from government grant programs. Moreover, census data are used by policymakers to determine where to locate hospitals, schools, day care and senior citizen centers, and other vital facilities.

Last February, the Joint Center for Political Studies convened a day-long conference of more than 70 researchers, policymakers, community leaders, and Census Bureau officials to address the census undercount and its implications for minorities. The conferees examined the continuing problem of the undercount of blacks and discussed the outreach steps the Census Bureau plans to take to increase black participation. But many black leaders and statisticians have concluded that the undercount of blacks will still be significant despite these steps, and they are calling for statistical adjustments in the 1990 Census to compensate for it.

The Missing Black Population

Undercounting the population is not a new problem; it has plagued the government since the first census was taken in 1790. Today the Census Bureau relies on demographic analysis to estimate the size of the undercount and the characteristics of those people who have been missed. The process entails comparing census counts with estimates of the population based on recorded births, deaths, immigration, and emigration, as well as other records. If these estimates exceed the actual census counts, the population has been undercounted. In a similar fashion, the Bureau's Post-Enumeration Program matches the census survey with other government surveys to find discrepancies. (This is how the Bureau determines that there has been an undercount. Just what to do about the undercount is a matter of considerable debate, as we shall see later.)

According to the Bureau, the 1980 Census missed approximately 3.2 million people, an undercount that was spread unevenly across the population. Blacks comprised the largest group missed by the census and were more likely than those in the whites-and-other-races category to be undercounted. In fact, the proportion made up by blacks of all those undercounted has been growing steadily over the last five decades, from 19 percent in 1940 to 53 percent in 1980. The Bureau estimates that in 1980, 1.7 million blacks (almost six percent of the total black population) were not counted. This is equivalent to the combined populations of the cities of Baltimore, Atlanta, and St. Louis. By contrast, less than one percent of the whites-and-other-races population were not counted.

At the Joint Center's conference, Coppin State College professor Jerusa Wilson, a former visiting research psychologist at the Census Bureau, noted that males make up the overwhelming majority (73 percent) of undercounted blacks. In his study, "Reducing the Undercount of Black Male Persons and Young Black Children in the 1990 Decennial Census," Wilson reports that the Census Bureau estimates that nine percent of all black males were not counted in 1980, compared to three percent of black females. The estimated undercount for black men between 35 and 54 years of age ranged from 15 to 20 percent. The undercount rates for young black children (under five years of age) were estimated at 10 percent for boys and nine percent for girls.

Wilson cited the following reasons for the severe undercounting of black men: lack of awareness about the census and its purposes; mistrust of government, including the belief that information would not be kept confidential; and a concern that the information would be used to interfere with family incomes from welfare or would lead to eviction from public housing units. Among the black men reluctant to participate in the census, he further argued, are fathers

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Ms. Allen is an economist and a senior research associate at the Joint Center.

The 1990 Census

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who fear that the information would be used against them in child support cases and men involved in illegal activities.

Census Bureau's Outreach Plans

The Census Bureau is developing new strategies to reduce the undercount, both by improving the way the census is conducted and by promoting greater participation, according to Marshall Turner, chief of the Bureau's 1990 Census Redistricting Data Office, and Sam Johnson, coordinator of the Bureau's National Services Program. In 1988, a dress rehearsal of the 1990 Census was conducted in three locations to refine procedures under census-like conditions. One of the sites, St. Louis, was typical of an urban area with a large concentration of blacks.

In the upcoming census, the Bureau will make a concerted effort to use local residents as census enumerators, particularly in counting tenants in public housing units and the homeless living in shelters, abandoned buildings, and parks. The Bureau will also urge local government officials to take an active role by reviewing the Bureau's counts of housing units in each block and establishing Complete Count Committees to help improve awareness about the census.

In addition, the 1990 Census will be promoted heavily on television and radio and in the newspapers. Minority-owned advertising agencies have been hired to tailor public service announcements to black, Hispanic, and Asian populations. By contrast, a single advertising agency developed all the national ads for the 1980 Census. Moreover, the Census Bureau has started a number of programs (such as the Black Church Partnership Project, Public Housing Initiative, and National Head Start Initiative) to promote the census in communities where the undercount has historically been large.

Other outreach efforts include the Census Awareness and Products Program (CAPP), in which Census Bureau specialists make presentations at meetings and conferences to explain the importance of the census and the different initiatives that are in place to help reduce the undercount.

Debate Over Adjusting the Count

Even the best outreach efforts of the Bureau, some argue, may be insufficient to avert a serious undercount of blacks. Various cities, states, and public-interest civic organizations are demanding that the Census Bureau go one step further—adjusting the actual count using statistical methods.

The Department of Commerce announced in 1987 that the government would not adjust the results of the 1990 Census. In response, a group of cities (including Chicago, Houston, Los Angeles, and New York) and interest groups (including the NAACP and the League of United Latin American Citizens), together with the states of New York and California, filed a lawsuit last year against the Department of Commerce with the Federal District Court in Brooklyn to require the government to statistically adjust the census results to compensate for the undercount. The lawsuit was settled on July 17 with an agreement that after the Bureau conducts the census it will take a post-enumeration survey of 150,000 homes in July 1990, which could serve as the basis for a statistical adjustment. An independent, eight-member panel of experts will advise the Secretary of Commerce as to whether an adjustment is needed. However, the Secretary would not be bound by their recommendations.

At the Joint Center conference, Dr. Barbara Bailar, executive director of the American Statistical Association, added her voice to those favoring statistical adjustment. She stated that there is a critical need for such an adjustment and that the consensus among statistical scholars and professionals is that one must be made. Bailar, formerly the associate director for statistical standards and methodology at the Census Bureau, asserted that since 1980 the Bureau has made improvements in its research of the undercount which would make adjustment of the 1990 Census feasible. She pointed out that corrections and adjustments which rely on statistical methods are already being made in the census. She cautioned, however, that a statistical adjustment would not completely eliminate the undercount though it would help alleviate the problem.

Jacob Siegel, senior research scholar at Georgetown University's Center for Population Research, offered the Joint Center conference some arguments against adjusting for the undercount. In the first instance, there is skepticism as to whether it is technically feasible to adjust census numbers and whether the Bureau would have the time to adjust the numbers and meet legal deadlines for delivering apportionment counts to the President by December 31, 1990, and redistricting counts to all states by April 1, 1991. Siegel also submitted that an adjustment could affect the public's cooperation and participation in the census if they knew that the count would be statistically adjusted later anyway.

A Call to Action

Clearly, it is imperative that blacks take an active role in the 1990 census. Dr. Billy Tidwell, director of research at the National Urban League, asserted at the conference that blacks have a big stake in helping to minimize an undercount. (See "What the Census Means in Money and Power" in this issue of *Focus*.)

Tidwell urges black organizations, community leaders, and elected officials to coordinate efforts to educate the black community about the importance of the census and to help motivate blacks to participate in the process. And while he applauds the Census Bureau's plans to expand its outreach efforts, he maintains that the black community must make sure that the Bureau faithfully executes its plans and that the community must call attention to any observed deficiencies in implementation. ■

What the Census Means in Money and Power

Cities and States Stand to Lose Tens of Millions of Dollars and Legislative Representation If Minorities Are Seriously Undercounted in the 1990 Census

by Linda F. Williams

Does your vote count as much as the next person's? Does your city get all the federal funds it really deserves? The answers to these questions will depend in part on whether you and others in your community participate in the decennial census count next year. Every individual who completes a census form in April 1990 and is counted in the census will help ensure that the distribution of federal and state funds to some 39,000 local governments is equitable and fair.

The impact of the census has already been proven. On the positive side: the dramatic increase in the Hispanic population documented in the 1980 Census served as the foundation for major increases in Hispanic congressional representation. After census-based reapportionment and redistricting in 1981, eight congressional districts emerged with constituencies that were at least 50 percent Hispanic. Voters in all but two of these districts went on to elect or reelect a Hispanic at some point in the 1980s. The number of Hispanic congressmen increased from five in 1980 to nine in 1982. There are currently 11 Hispanic members of the House of Representatives.

On the negative side: the generally incomplete tally of minorities, particularly among urban residents, has led to significant losses of federal and state grants to cities with large minority populations, such as Detroit, New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, and Baltimore. Big-city mayors as diverse as Coleman Young of Detroit and Ed Koch of New York have complained vigorously about the millions of dollars in aid lost to their cities because of the census undercount.

The city of Baltimore is a good example of how the undercount can affect public funding. Baltimore officials estimate that 29,000 residents of the city were not counted in the 1980 Census. As a result, roughly $232 million in federal funds which the city would have qualified for during the last nine years never arrived. In practical terms, this meant that Baltimore did not get its proper share of federal and state programs for education and training, job creation, community development, public housing, and many other programs from funds allocated on the basis of population.

Other cities and states also stand to lose revenues if the 1990 Census undercount is significant and unadjusted. Among them are Chicago and Los Angeles, which could each experience a shortfall of more than $100 million over the next decade, and Texas, which could lose at least $300 million if large numbers of citizens are missed. All told, Census Bureau analysts have identified 60 federal programs, from drug rehabilitation services to public education, that distribute funds through formula grants based in whole or in part on population size—and such funds totalled $73 billion to all states in 1988 alone.

The Census and Political Power for Minorities

Unfortunately, many Americans view the census as a mundane activity that has little impact on their lives other than as an infringement of their privacy. It is clear, however, that census results have significant implications for the lives of all U.S. citizens, and particularly for blacks and other minorities. In addition to determining which states will gain or lose congressional seats, the census results determine the boundaries of thousands of state, county, and municipal legislative districts as well as congressional districts. Legislative district boundaries—and therefore the make-up of the people who live within them—often determine the background and ethnicity of the candidates elected as representatives. Therefore, whether minorities will be represented by the people of their choice in the next decade will be greatly influenced by the redistricting process, beginning with the census.

Though the 1990 Census data will initially be used to reapportion the number of Congressional seats allotted to each state, the redrawing of district maps within each state will be determined by a more complex political process. Generally, this will be governed by state legislators. At the same time as congressional, state, and local legislative election districts are redrawn, other governmental districts, such as those applicable to the election of judicial offices and education boards, will also be reconfigured.

(Continued on page 8)

Ms. Williams is an associate director of research at the Joint Center.

What the Census Means

(Continued from page 7)

Blacks have an enormous stake in this process. A look back at 1981 redistricting after the 1980 Census reveals heavy increases in the number of black elected officials. At the congressional level, the most important advances were the creation, as a result of litigation, of two additional majority-black congressional districts. These new districts eventually resulted in the election of two black congressmen: Mike Espy (Mississippi's 2nd district) and John Lewis (Georgia's 5th district). In addition, after most redistricting plans were adopted in 1982, the number of state legislative seats held by blacks shot up by 42—a historic single-year increase. Civil-rights litigation that followed the 1980 Census eventually led to the elimination of discriminatory multimember districts in favor of single-member districts in several Southern states. As a result, the number of black state legislators in Virginia, North Carolina, Florida, and the South Carolina state senate nearly tripled between 1980 and 1989, the cumulative total growing from 14 to 41 black members.

Activism for Fair Redistricting

If blacks and other minorities are more adequately counted and better organized in 1990, they may experience even greater gains in legislative representation than those brought about by the last redistricting process. First, black leaders and organizations must strongly encourage their constituents to participate in the census to ensure a full count. Second, blacks and other minorities should begin *now* to form redistricting coalitions. Ideally, such coalitions should include community activists, voter registration groups, "good government" style public-interest organizations (such as Common Cause and the League of Women Voters), labor unions, and state legislative leaders—especially members of redistricting committees.

Activists involved in redistricting should also elicit the support of technical experts such as demographers, political scientists, and voting rights litigators. Groups should be prepared to participate in redistricting hearings, to draw their own plans, to react to the plans of others, and to engage in litigation when necessary.

During the redistricting process, black plaintiffs in several states challenged redistricting plans that diluted the voting strength of black voters. Their challenges bore fruit. As a result of these suits, new districts in Georgia, Mississippi, and Louisiana were created where blacks now constitute majority constituencies.

The stakes are high. If future federal dollars supporting vital social programs are to be fairly allocated and black citizens are to be adequately represented in Congress and other legislative bodies, black leaders and groups must act now. With the census less than a year away, there is much planning, organizing, and coalition building to do. ■

National Council of Negro Women Black Family Reunion Celebration 1989

In the spring of 1986, Dr. Dorothy I. Height, president of the National Council of Negro Women, conceived of an event that would call attention to all that is good in the black family—its historic and cultural strengths.

Today, the event is viewed as the most significant family movement in black America since the mid-1960s. With a program that combines service, information, and entertainment with workshops, issue forums, exhibits, and health examinations, the Black Family Reunion Celebration aims to unify the community for constructive action as it confronts the national problems of education, drug abuse, teen pregnancy, health care, and joblessness—all concerns that matter deeply to the black family today.

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SPECIAL SOCIAL POLICY ISSUE

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Racism on College Campuses

As Racial Intolerance on Predominantly White Campuses Becomes More Prevalent, Minority Students Are Demanding that University Officials Find New Ways to Address the Problem

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A Common Destiny: Blacks and American Society

Major Study by the National Academy of Sciences Finds No Progress Toward Social and Economic Equality for Blacks Since Early 1970s

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National Service: Are Points of Light Enough?

The Senate Has Taken the Spotlight on Volunteer Service Legislation, While George Bush Is Still Warming Up In the Wings

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Abortion: Whose Issue Is It Anyway?

Poor and Minority Women Speak Out on Reproductive Freedom, Which Faces New Restrictions With the Supreme Court's Webster *Ruling*

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PERSPECTIVE

On Guard Against Racism

Throughout this year, which marks the 25th anniversary of the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, a number of assessments have been made concerning race relations in America. All of them have painted a most discouraging picture: most neighborhoods remain segregated, as do most public schools, and racial violence is on the increase.

The stagnation and decline in the socioeconomic progress of black Americans over the past 15 years is documented in alarming detail in *A Common Destiny: Blacks and American Society,* a major report published recently by the National Academy of Sciences and summarized in this issue of *Focus*. The report also found that over the last two decades, racism has not abated.

Racial violence is one critical barometer of racism. In New York's Howard Beach and Bensonhurst neighborhoods, in the anti-black conduct of some of Chicago's white police officers, and on college campuses across the nation, the number of incidents of racial violence is increasing. In this issue of *Focus,* Brown University junior N'Tanya Lee dissects the blatant acts of racism occurring in our citadels of higher learning. Racial violence nationwide goes beyond vandalism and harassment to include cross burnings, arson, bombings, and murders. And, beyond the KKK and Nazis, this violence is being perpetrated by proliferating hate groups like the skinheads, the Posse Comitatus, and extremist "Christian identity" groups.

There are as many as 20,000 white supremacist activists in the U.S., according to the Atlanta-based Center for Democratic Renewal, and their sympathizers are estimated to exceed 150,000. Black Americans are not their only targets and victims. Latinos, Native Americans, Asians, Jews, and quite a few white gentiles are being targeted by these groups and individuals.

In assessing the state of race relations it is important to identify major factors that have precluded progress and major steps that can be taken in the future to ensure progress. On the blame side of the ledger, there is enough fault to share so that few Americans are without some of it. But it does seem that national leaders, particularly the President of the United States, might have some unique responsibilities in this area.

During the past 25 years the White House has been occupied by Democrats for nine years and by Republicans for 16 years. During much of this time we have witnessed a dramatic retreat from the major legislative and court-ordered civil rights advances of the 1960s. Progress slowed considerably with the nation's economic problems in the 1970s. And, according to most social and economic measures, it came to a complete stop when Ronald Reagan was swept into the White House on the crest of a conservative tide. He proclaimed one of his mandates to be the dismantling and elimination of affirmative action programs. He didn't completely succeed, but he wreaked enough havoc to adversely affect race relations across the country. And so when we ask who is to blame for today's discouraging state of race relations, President Reagan and his administration and policies will no doubt be in the vanguard of the guilty.

Today's "resurgence" of racism is a painful reminder of the danger to society of letting the racist genie out of the bottle, of the danger of relaxing our guard against bigotry. The challenge now and always is to keep high our guard against bigotry and to aggressively extend the promises of the Constitution to all Americans. □

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

FOCUS

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Racism on College Campuses

As Racial Intolerance on Predominantly White Campuses Becomes More Prevalent, Minority Students Are Demanding that University Officials Find New Ways to Address the Problem

by N'Tanya Lee

It was April 25, 1989, the end of spring term at Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island. Students—mostly white and from upper-middle class families—were preparing for Spring Weekend, an annual fling before final exams. That day, found scrawled in large black letters across an elevator door in Andrews Dormitory were the words, NIGGERS GO HOME. Over the next 24 hours, similar racial epithets were found on the doors of several women of color living in that hall; on the bathroom doors WOMEN was crossed out and replaced with NIGGERS, MEN was crossed out, replaced with WHITE. And in that same women's bathroom, a computer-printed flyer was found a day later which read: "Once upon a time Brown was a place where a white man could go to class without having to look at little black faces or little yellow faces or little brown faces except when he went to take his meals. Things have been going downhill since the kitchen help moved into the classroom. Keep white suprmcy [sic] alive! Join the Brown Chapter of the KKK."

On scores of predominantly white campuses in every region of the country, the racial tension of the 1980s has begun exploding in numerous racial incidents like the one described here. For some minority students, it is the "old-fashioned" racism such as assault, or the destruction of property that most associate with days that ended with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The sting of racial harassment is tearing at minority students' continued attempt to lead a normal life at integrated campuses. The words of Jill Jackson, a black student at Brown University, may reflect what many of them feel: "They [white students and administrators] are basically saying to me, 'This is not your university. We let you in, now be quiet'." In response to these acts, thousands of black and other minority students are taking cues from the militant black student actions of the 1960s by organizing mass protests.

The increasing activism of minority students has forced many college administrations and their student populations to grapple with the reality of growing racial intolerance on their campuses. Prestigious colleges and universities, including Dartmouth, Columbia, Brown, Smith, Stanford, and the state universities of Michigan and Massachusetts, have begun arranging workshops and day-long sessions on racism, appointing task forces to study campus racism and to evaluate university policies on minority students, and creating stricter disciplinary codes against racial harassment.

Nonetheless, black and other minority students, educators, and national civil rights leaders insist that there is no "quick fix" and that resolving the broad range of deeply intertwined racial problems demands an even stronger commitment and more innovative actions by entire university communities, such as expanding the recruitment of minority students, faculty, and administrators and instituting "multicultural" course requirements. Adele Terrell, program director at the Baltimore-based National Institute Against Prejudice and Violence, insists that "The university has a responsibility to do what society has been unable to do—to teach students from day one that confronting racism is an expected part of campus life."

Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire: *In 1982,* The Dartmouth Review, *an independent, ultra-conservative, white-run student newspaper, published an article "ridiculing" black students at the college, titled "Dis Sho' Aint No Jive, Bro." In part, the article reads: "...Dese boys be saying that we be comin hee to Dartmut an' not takin' the classics...We be culturally 'lightened, too. We be takin hard courses in many subjects, like Afro-Am Studies...and who bee mouthin' bout us not bein' good read?"*

The National Institute Against Prejudice and Violence estimates that publicized incidents of ethno-violence (encompassing actions motivated by ethnic, religious, and racial prejudice) have occurred on more than 250 campuses across the country since it began collecting information in 1986. The Institute believes, moreover, that this number significantly understates the "national proliferation of ethno-violence on our college campuses."

The deeper reality underlying these statistics, however, emerges in the anecdotes from thousands of minority students across the nation. These students must live and work in a disturbingly unbalanced environment. For the American university today is perhaps the sole place where

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Ms. Lee, a junior at Brown University, was an intern this summer with the Joint Center.

Racism on College Campuses

(Continued from page 3)

people of many races, religions, ethnicities, and sexual orientations come to live together, oftentimes completely unprepared to do so, in the context of a white institution that is unwilling to meet the new demands. Says Terrell: "You get these white kids from the suburbs and a minority kid from the inner city. You put them together in a room and you expect them to live together peacefully...it's just not going to happen."

Between 20 and 25 percent of black college students experience some form of ethno-violence, according to the National Institute. In a separate study conducted by the Gannett News service, 34 percent of black students reported experiencing some form of racial harassment, ranging from verbal epithets to physical violence.

In addition, students report racism in the higher structures of academia itself—in the classroom, in the design of the curriculum, in the hiring and promotion of minority faculty and administrators, in the distribution of financial aid, and in the admissions process. Students at Stanford University, for example, have charged the school with fostering institutional racism, citing a 92 percent white faculty, the lack of a full-time dean for Chicano students, and overwhelming administration resistance to a "multicultural" course requirement. There have been numerous racial incidents at Stanford, but, says Louis Jackson, a black student there, "I don't think you'll find a blatant out-and-out racist at Stanford, someone who will just come out and call you 'nigger'...but you will find students who come from upper-middle-class families who've never come into contact with black people before, except their maid or a janitor...and all they have in their head is stereotypes." Jackson's conclusion: "There is a lot of ignorance."

Jacqueline Fleming, a noted psychologist at Barnard College in New York, has documented in her book *Blacks In College* that black students' gains in social and intellectual development suffer on predominantly white campuses when compared with historically black colleges. "The problem," she says, "is one of institutional abandonment, isolation, and bias in the classroom—factors that create a hostile interpersonal climate."

Jill Jackson, a black student at Brown University, further explains: "What we are talking about here is 'climate'. ...They know better than to call me 'nigger,' but instead I must justify daily why we have a Third World Center, why we sit together in the cafeteria, why we are 'complaining' about racism on campus, about getting an ethnic studies program, about the lack of tenured black, Hispanic and Asian-American faculty and administrators, and on and on."

> ***University of Michigan, Ann Arbor:*** *In 1987, WJJX, a campus radio station, received a call from a student requesting air time to tell some jokes: "What do you get when you cross a black and a groundhog?" asked the caller. "Six more weeks of basketball season." The deejay allowed the caller to continue, while searching for a laugh track. "Why do blacks always have sex on their minds?" asked the caller. "Because all their pubic hair is on their head." After that and several other racial incidents on campus, the response from the Black Action Movement (BAM) culminated in a brief occupation of the administration building and the disruption of a Board of Regents meeting. As a result of continued student efforts, plans to increase the number of black faculty are now being implemented.*

Many students, national educators, civil rights leaders, and researchers who study our campus "crisis" insist that it must not be separated from deeply connected issues that affect the life-chances and well-being of blacks in the society at large. Racial polarization on campus mirrors racial polarization in society, they argue. And over the last decade, there has grown an overwhelming sense that relations between whites and minorities are worsening and that we are now facing the frightening consequences—from the 1982 murder in Detroit of Vincent Chin, a Chinese-American, by a white unemployed auto worker and his stepson, to the murder of Michael Griffith in Howard Beach in 1986 by white teenagers who felt their territory had been invaded, to the recent racial killing of Yusuf Hawkins in New York's predominately white Bensonhurst area. According to Dr. Linda Williams of the Joint Center, one reason for the growing tension is that there is an underlying perception among whites that blacks have achieved equality and that now "minority groups are getting some sort of undeserved advantage." The Reagan administration worked *against* affirmative action and severely cut financial assistance for students and to colleges committed to minority recruitment, thereby seriously diminishing black Americans' access to higher education. Argues Adele Terrell: "The sanctioning of anti-female, anti-black, anti-gay, anti-semitic attitudes...the feeling that it is OK to target powerless people, has been integral to the socialization of the present generation."

As Reginald Wilson, minority concerns director of the Washington, D.C.-based American Council on Education (ACE), explains, the attitude of some white students "reflects an assumed sense of ownership among whites in society as a whole in which they seem to be saying that 'this is my world. Who ever said that this neighborhood or university belongs to you?'"

> ***The Citadel, Charleston, South Carolina:*** *In the fall of 1986, five white male students dressed in Klan-style white sheets and towels rushed into the room of a sleeping black male student, lit a small paper cross, uttered several racial slurs, threw the charred paper cross on the floor and left. President Claudius Grimsley, at first denying the event was racially motivated, later assigned the five students to an 'elaborate on-campus discipline'. Leaders of Charleston's black community called for their expulsion and the president's resignation. Soon after, the black student left the 144-year old military academy.*

While most schools have been struggling to cope with the conflicts in piecemeal, short-term, reactive ways, the consensus among observers is that broad, long-term strategies are in order. "A comprehensive approach is absolutely necessary," says Reginald Wilson of the American Council on Education, "and above all, a commitment by university leaders to institute change." Without that commitment, says Rev. Daphne Wiggins, a chaplain at Brown, "university rhetoric is just that—only rhetoric."

Demands by minority students for comprehensive, institutionalized changes at universities are being heard across the country. Students are calling for mandatory courses covering ethnic studies and the historical development of white racism, and for racial awareness/anti-racism workshops for everyone on campus. They are demanding that intolerance of racial harassment become policy in the disciplinary codes. Furthermore, black and other underrepresented minority student and alumni groups are demanding that colleges significantly increase their recruitment of minority students, faculty, and administrators, as well as calling for space and funding for cultural centers and programs.

Whites seem to be saying that 'this is my world. Who ever said that this neighborhood or university belongs to you?'

While many administrators see no connection between recruiting minority students and hiring minority faculty, organizations like the American Council on Education are making the connections clear and urging university leadership to do the same. Says Wilson: "Schools cannot recruit black students and not recruit black faculty and then wonder why black kids feel alienated from campus life." Reginald Wells of the Washington-based National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives, which provides sensitivity training to administrators and campus security, suggests that "universities that do not have strong recruitment policies convey a message to their students that minorities are not an important part of college life....I believe that is a component of the racial tension and violence we are seeing."

The percentage of the total college enrollment that is black has declined over the last decade (from 9.4 percent in 1976 to 8.6 percent in 1986). Enrollment has decreased in part because of rising tuition costs and reductions in federal assistance. The weakening commitment of some university officials and the federal government to make higher education available to minorities has been part of the problem. Indeed, according to extensive research for the Joint Center by political scientist Gary Orfield of the University of Chicago, during the two terms of the Reagan administration, appointed federal officials chose to reverse years of established, bipartisan policy by halting federal pressure to increase black access to higher education. Instead of pursuing vigorous enforcement of desegregation and affirmative remedies, the administration "assumed good faith" and expected colleges and universities to voluntarily comply with the law. Administration officials often turned a blind eye to the adoption of new state education policies harmful to minority access.

Some universities are now responding. The University of Wisconsin at Madison has adopted what many consider one of the most comprehensive responses in the country. Its "Madison Plan," announced in 1988, calls for doubling the minority enrollment over the next five years, creating 150 financial aid packages for low-income students, substantially increasing the scholarship endowment, endowing 25 new minority fellowships, hiring 70 new instructors over the next three years to double the minority faculty, and requiring ethnic studies courses.

Like the University of Wisconsin, Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota, recently adopted an innovative plan. Carleton's program will give minority scholars the opportunity to teach half-time while completing their doctoral dissertations and, in the process, bring greater diversity to the faculty and offer role models for minority students. Carleton also instituted a requirement that all incoming students take a course that addresses the issue of cultural diversity. Such required courses—found today at Stanford, Berkeley, William Patterson College in New Jersey, and Towson State University in Maryland, among other schools—are being recognized as central to the success of any school's confrontation with racism, according to Keith Achuleta, director of the Black Community Services Center at Stanford.

In addition, workshops on racism for all members of a university community, run by staff, trained students, or consultants, have proven to raise racial awareness and sensitivity on many campuses. Incoming students at Brown University are now required to participate in several forums on racism and the meaning of pluralism during their orientation. Carleton College has hired a consultant on racism and minority issues and has made funds available to staff, faculty, and administrators to request the consultant's services. Minority administrators at Carleton have been pleasantly surprised at the number of requests.

Civil rights leaders and national educators are making a compelling argument to more colleges and universities to take up this challenge: "In a nation that will be one-third minority by the year 2000, if we are not educating all of our citizens, and particularly our minority population," says Reginald Wilson, "we will not have the skilled labor force necessary to compete in the world."

As Rev. Daphne Wiggins of Brown University asserts: "Struggle is necessary to achieve an academic community that moves beyond tolerance of diversity to one that appreciates and embraces difference." Echoing the words spoken more than a hundred years ago by the black human-rights leader Frederick Douglass, Wiggins adds, "Without struggle there will be no progress." □

A Common Destiny: Blacks and American Society

Major Study by the National Academy of Sciences Finds No Progress Toward Social and Economic Equality for Blacks Since Early 1970s

Reviewed by Marc DeFrancis

Virtually all the advances black Americans have made over the past five decades were achieved by the early 1970s. Since that time, not only has the remaining racial gap not been bridged, but much of it—particularly in employment and in housing and educational opportunity—has grown wider. And while espoused goals of racial equality have gained broader acceptance among whites, willful discrimination against blacks—especially in the housing market—has shown little change. Some of this may seem surprising, especially to those who have joined the small but growing ranks of the black middle class. But it is amply documented in *A Common Destiny: Blacks and American Society*, a 600-page report recently released by the National Academy of Sciences.

The product of six years of study, the report closely examines how the economic and social status of black Americans changed between 1940 and 1986, covering such issues as income and employment, race relations, education, health, criminal justice, and political participation. It is built on the work of nearly a hundred black and white scholars under the supervision of the Academy's National Research Council and its 22-member blue-ribbon Committee on the Status of Black Americans. The director of the study, Gerald David Jaynes, is a black economist at Yale University. *A Common Destiny* is already being compared in importance with such landmark studies of race relations as Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* (1944) and the Kerner Commission's *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (1968). According to Robin M. Williams, a Cornell University sociologist and chairman of the study's supervisory committee, the goal of the research was "to describe and analyze the changing position of blacks in American society since 1940—to lay out the currently available facts in a report as comprehensive and objective as we could make it." Williams coedited the resulting publication with Dr. Jaynes. The editors note that the report offers no policy recommendations of its own since it is designed "as a point of departure for future analyses and for the informed development of policies by business, voluntary associations, and local, state, and federal governments."

The authors conclude that, should circumstances and public policies remain unaltered, blacks will continue to lose economic and social ground. Existing trends indicate that in the near future roughly a third of the black population will continue to be poor, and that the relative employment and earnings status of black men is likely to further deteriorate. The report also notes that no convergence is in sight—even into the next half-century—for the disparate ages of life expectancy for black and white men.

No "Culture of Poverty"

The report challenges a recurrent view of poverty that has been fiercely debated throughout the 1980s—namely, that America's lower-income minorities remain chronically poor because they have inherited a "culture of poverty" which embraces dependency. The authors conclude that "the evidence does not support some popular hypotheses that purport to explain [black] female-headed households, high birth rates to unmarried women, low labor-force participation by males, or poor academic performance solely on the basis of government support programs or, more generally, on the existence of a 'culture of poverty' among the black poor. Black-white cultural differences have narrowed since 1960, not widened." As contributing evidence of this narrowing, the authors note that blacks vote at the same or higher rates as whites of the same socioeconomic backgrounds—a dramatic change from the virtual disfranchisement of the pre-civil-rights era. The accumulated evidence shows that the environment of poverty itself—not race or "cultural outlook"—is most closely linked to destructive social problems and behaviors. Moreover, the percentage of those within any given population that experiences a destructive social or health problem most often matches the poverty rate for that group rather than its racial or other composition. The presence of poverty alone, for example, explains the entire black-white difference in the rates of infant mortality and the high-school drop-out rate.

The Force of Economic Trends: Two Eras

The primary correlates of poverty—the factors that can most demonstrably be linked as causes—are "macroeconomic conditions of prosperity or recession and changes in family composition." This helps explain why the portrait of

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Mr. DeFrancis is senior editor at the Joint Center.

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POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Inside This Issue

- Manhattan Borough President David N. Dinkins wins New York City's Democratic mayoral primary to face Republican Rudolph Giuliani in the November general election.
- Congress can continue the late Rep. Mickey Leland's legacy of assisting hungry Americans by expanding the food stamp program which is up for reauthorization next year.
- Twenty black women leaders respond to the Supreme Court's *Webster* decision by calling for the protection of reproductive freedoms for all women.
- EEOC Chairman Clarence Thomas may face massive opposition from senior citizens and civil rights organizations if he is nominated for a federal judgeship.
- A new feature film about resistance to the South African apartheid regime, directed by brilliant young film maker Euzhan Palcy, has been released to theatres across the U.S.
- Across the Nation looks at black victors of mayoral primaries in Detroit, New Haven, New York, and Seattle, as well as challenges to Congressman Gus Savage in Chicago.

Dinkins Wins in New York

Manhattan Borough President DAVID N. DINKINS' stunning victory September 12 over three-term Mayor EDWARD I. KOCH in New York City's Democratic mayoral primary has not only generated enthusiasm among the city's blacks, but marks the reemergence of a liberal Democratic coalition that has been dormant since Koch's first election in 1977. Dinkins captured 51 percent of the vote, including 54 percent of the Latino vote and an unexpectedly large 29 percent of the white vote. He also captured the support of 93 percent of black voters, though their numbers were surprisingly low (29 percent of all voters who turned out).

Dinkins' victory vindicated his personal style and campaign strategy, both of which came under criticism for being too "laid-back," especially in response to Koch's aggressive tactics. Dinkins kept the gloves on throughout, while positioning himself as the candidate most able to "heal a racially divided city." His stump speech of unity became particularly important in the final weeks of the campaign after YUSUF HAWKINS, a black high-school student, was killed by a gang of white youths in Brooklyn's predominately white Bensonhurst section. Indeed, it was that incident which many observers point to as galvanizing Dinkins' final support. According to a New York Times/WCBS-TV exit poll, this was especially true among his white support, 35 percent of whom said they decided to vote for Dinkins in the last month of the campaign.

Now the 62-year-old former city clerk and president of the New York City Board of Elections must prepare for what many are expecting will be a tough general election in November. His opponent, 45-year-old RUDOLPH L. GIULIANI, a former Reagan-appointed U.S. attorney who won fame for prosecuting organized-crime bosses and Wall Street stock swindlers, is running on both Republican Party and Liberal Party tickets. While the Democratic Party holds a 5-to-1 edge in voter registration over New York City's Republicans, it is expected that some white voters who have traditionally supported Democrats will not vote for Dinkins. Giuliani, who in his primary race against ultra-conservative RONALD S. LAUDER described himself as a "Republican-fusion" candidate along the lines of former New York Republican mayors FIORELLO H. LA GUARDIA and JOHN LINDSEY, is now repositioning himself more conservatively as he attempts to win the support of disaffected Democrats. Dinkins, who is seeking to become the Big Apple's first black mayor, has already set the tone for his campaign by depicting Giuliani as a "reactionary Reaganite" who "can only take the city backwards." Giuliani, on the other hand, is accusing Dinkins of being a "clubhouse politician" backed by a political leadership that "has dragged the city into decline." Meanwhile, whoever is elected can expect to face enormous challenges, like massive homelessness, high unemployment, and a decaying urban infrastructure. Moreover, State Comptroller EDWARD V. REGAN has already warned both candidates that the city will face a budget deficit of between $1.3 billion and $2 billion during the next mayoral term.

Mickey Leland's Last Mission

Many still mourn for Congressman **MICKEY LELAND**, who was killed last August in a plane crash while en route to a refugee camp in Ethiopia near the Sudanese border. Eight other Americans and seven Ethiopians who accompanied Leland on the humanitarian mission were also lost in the crash. Revered as a passionate champion for the interests of the world's poorest citizens, the six-term Democrat from Houston was instrumental in convincing his House colleagues in 1984 to create the Select Committee on Hunger, which he chaired until his death. Leland used the committee as a platform from which to fight hunger and malnutrition both at home and abroad, and he was a major force in getting Congress to fund U.S. food aid to sub-Saharan Africa (valued at $800 million) in 1985 and hunger relief for America's homeless in 1986.

At his untimely death at age 44, Leland's goal to abolish hunger in the U.S. remained far from realized. Between two and five million children in America are hungry today, yet federal funding for child nutrition and food stamp programs has not kept pace with the need. Even though the number of Americans in poverty has increased since 1981, the average monthly number of food stamp recipients has shrunk, from 22.4 million that year to 20.1 million in 1988, according to a report by the House Ways and Means Committee. This decrease was due to budget cuts made by President REAGAN's administration. Funding for the food stamp program, measured in constant dollars, is now less than it was in 1981 when Reagan took office. With that program up for reauthorization in 1990, nutrition advocates are anxious to see whether the same Democratic and Republican members of Congress who have expressed their admiration for Mickey Leland's commitment will honor his memory and his mission by expanding this and other important nutrition programs.

Black Women Take a Stand on Reproductive Freedom

On September 13, at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C., 20 nationally prominent black women leaders declared that all women should have the right to reproductive freedom. The group was responding to the Supreme Court's July 3 decision in *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services,* which gives states the authority to prohibit state-government-supported abortion services. The 20 leaders voiced their fear that *Webster* may enable states to further restrict access to reproductive information and services and that it may become virtually impossible for many low-income and minority women to have abortions performed legally and safely. **The group also outlined the basic reproductive rights they believe should be protected, including: the right to choose whether or not to have a child; the right to good, affordable health care to ensure a safe pregnancy and delivery; the right to information and counseling on reproduction, contraception, and abortion; the right to a range of contraceptive services; and the right to safe, legal, and affordable abortion services.**

Among the women were former congresswoman **SHIRLEY CHISHOLM**; Rep. **CARDISS COLLINS** (D-Ill.); **DOROTHY HEIGHT**, president of the National Council of Negro Women; Georgetown University law professor **ELEANOR HOLMES NORTON**; California state assemblywoman **MAXINE WATERS**; and **FAYE WATTLETON**, president of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America. They add their voices to those of other leaders of the pro-choice movement who led tens of thousands in a march on Washington April 9 in support of women's right to abortion.

Although Solicitor General KENNETH W. STARR reportedly does not plan to argue before the High Court this term in favor of overturning *Roe v. Wade,* which in 1973 legalized abortion in all states, pro-choice activists fear the *Webster* ruling does indicate the Court's willingness to issue such a reversal in the future. Acting on a sense of urgency, these activists are already making their influence felt in the states. Shortly after the *Webster* decision, the U.S. House of Representatives voted to remove prohibitions imposed a year earlier on the District of Columbia's right to use public funds to pay for abortions for poor women. Similarly, the Florida state house and senate recently moved to block Governor Bob Martinez's legislative proposal to add new restrictions to the state's present abortion laws. The issue of reproductive freedom has already emerged in this fall's gubernatorial races in Virginia and New Jersey, and it is likely to be raised again in elections across the country next year. (See "Abortion: Whose Issue Is It Anyway?" in this issue of ***Focus***.)

Conservative Black Judicial Candidate Faces Opposition

Several public-interest organizations are about to oppose the nomination of CLARENCE THOMAS, the black chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), to fill a vacancy on the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals. Thomas is slated to take the seat vacated by ROBERT H. BORK, who resigned in February 1988 after the U.S. Senate refused to confirm his nomination as a U.S. Supreme Court justice. The

D.C. Circuit Court, because it often rules on federal regulatory and civil rights cases of national import, is widely considered to be second only to the Supreme Court in power and stature and can be the springboard to a High Court appointment.

Because of the position's importance, legal rights organizations and women's, elderly, and civil rights groups critical of Thomas's performance as head of the EEOC are preparing for a confirmation battle. (His nomination has not yet been officially transmitted to the Senate.) **Thomas faces his strongest opposition from the powerful senior citizens lobby, which views him as insensitive to their concerns. When congressional hearings conducted in 1987 and 1988 revealed that under Thomas the EEOC failed to process as many as 10,000 complaints brought in accordance with the Age Discrimination in Employment Act (ADEA), the elderly community and several members of Congress became up in arms.** The House and Senate Committees on Aging exposed the fact that the EEOC allowed thousands of complaints to expire by not processing them within the law's two year statute of limitation. Thomas claims that he doesn't have the staff to process all the complaints in the EEOC's large case load even though the agency has received increases in its congressioal appropriations each year since 1982.

The Senate Judiciary Committee, with jurisdiction over Justice Department and judicial appointments, may be tiring from battles over controversial nominees. On August 1, after a painful confirmation struggle between the Justice Department and civil rights groups, the committee voted not to confirm **WILLIAM LUCAS** to head that department's Civil Rights Division. This was a major setback for Attorney General **RICHARD THORNBURGH**, who has been unable to fill several top posts in his department. The committee may opt to avoid another such fight.

Thomas had been serving as a legislative aide when in 1981 he was appointed by President Reagan to head the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Education. A year later, in 1982, he was appointed to chair the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. By 1986, Thomas was facing opposition from many groups, including the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights (a coalition of over 200 organizations), the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund, and the American Federation of Government Employees. They charged Thomas with shifting the agency's emphasis from high-impact, class-action pattern and practice suits to individual cases of discrimination. Thomas's stated view that goals and timetables in affirmative action hiring are discriminatory and a flawed approach to civil rights enforcement has alarmed many civil rights leaders. **RALPH G. NEAS**, executive director of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, says his coalition is studying Thomas's record in the Reagan and Bush administrations and will take a position on his nomination some time this fall.

Witness to Apartheid

In September, Rep. HOWARD WOLPE (D-Mich.), chairman of the House Subcommittee on Africa, hosted the screening in Washington, D.C., of "A Dry White Season," a powerful film about the courage of individuals who resist the racist regime in South Africa. Set in Johannesburg and Soweto during the 1976 student rebellions, the film shows how apartheid has savaged the people of that troubled land—both black and white. It is centered on two families, that of Gordon Ngubene (played by **WINSTON NTSHONA**) and that of Ben du Toit (played by **DONALD SUTHERLAND**). Du Toit, a white Afrikaner teacher in an affluent Johannesburg private school, is disturbed when his black gardener, Ngubene, asks him to help secure justice for his son Jonathan, who has been brutally beaten by the police. At first du Toit chooses not to act and counsels Ngubene to let the matter rest. However, when Jonathan disappears in detention after a peaceful student demonstration is viciously broken up by the police, it becomes clear that the matter will not rest. As Ngubene exposes himself and his family to grave danger by seeking the whereabouts of his son, du Toit witnesses a side of South African "justice" he had never been aware of. Du Toit's steps—tentative and inept at first—to intercede on behalf of the Ngubene family take him down a path that changes his life and profoundly affects his own family.

"A Dry White Season" is based on the novel of the same name by Afrikaner **ANDRE BRINK**. The book, originally published in the Afrikaans language in 1979, was immediately banned in South Africa. Brink has written three other novels as well as several essays critical of the South African government and society, and together with his family has lived under police surveillance and endured death threats since 1974. **The film was directed by the brilliant young black film maker EUZHAN PALCY, age 32. A native of Martinique, her first major film was an award-winning 1983 feature titled "La Rue Cases Negres" (released in the U.S. as "Sugar Cane Alley"), which centers on a black youth who grows up on one of Martinique's oppressive sugar cane plantations. Palcy had to fight Hollywood for five years to make this latest film a reality.** In the process, she and producer **PAUL WEINSTEIN** astonished the film industry by luring **MARLON BRANDO** out of nine years of apparent retirement. Brando is reported to have performed in the small-budget ($9 million) film without a fee, while the other actors worked for fees far below what they normally receive.

"A Dry White Season" is a gripping and powerfully honest film that now joins others—"Cry Freedom" and "A World Apart"—in examining the horrors of apartheid and the sacrificial courage of those who challenge it.

Across the Nation

CONNECTICUT: On Tuesday, September 12, black state senator JOHN C. DANIELS took on the Italian-dominated political machine in New Haven and won the Democratic nomination for mayor with 58 percent of the vote. If he wins in the November 7 general election he will be the first black mayor of this ethnically diverse community of 126,000, where blacks make up 30 percent of the population.

He grew up in the city's housing projects and today is a church deacon whom the public regards as a solid citizen. After attending Villanova University in Pennsylvania with a football scholarship, Daniels served as special assistant to the executive director of the Joint Center from 1970 to 1971. He returned to New Haven where he served on the Board of Aldermen and was later elected to five terms as state senator. He succeeded in business as the founder of Enterprise Plumbing and Heating Co.

Daniels' Democratic opponent was **JOHN DESTEFANO JR.**, the chief administrator and development officer under outgoing Mayor **BIAGIO "BEN" DILIETO**. DeStefano, who had never held elective office, failed in his many attempts to link Daniels' name to controversy or scandal. New Haven politics have long been dominated by the Italian community (Italians also make up about 30 percent of the city's population), while Hispanic, Irish, Greek, and Jewish voters, together with the Yale University community, make up the balance of the populace. Running on a broadly based campaign of inclusion, Daniels won through a strong black voter turnout and by carrying the "Yale Ward." He promised downtown development, expanded drug treatment, and better police protection.

The winner of New Haven's Democratic primary is usually a shoe-in for the general election, where Democrats outnumber Republicans 10 to 1. Political observers will be watching to see if the voters in this predominantly white, working-class city can look beyond race and consider Daniels on his merits.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: Housing Now, a broad coalition of 70 national organizations, is preparing for the climactic event of its summer-long public awareness and lobbying campaign on behalf of the nation's homeless: a march on Washington. The October 7 march and rally will bring together homeless people, advocates for the homeless, local and state public officials, church leaders, and others. Their demand: that the billions of dollars cut from the federal housing budget since 1981 be restored. Since 1980, the total budget for federal housing assistance has been cut by more than 75 percent—from $32 billion to $7.5 billion a year. Prevalent estimates place the number of homeless Americans at three million, while families with children now make up the fastest-growing homeless group. The Housing Now campaign was initiated by calls for action from **MITCH SNYDER**, a Washington D.C. homeless advocate; **BARRY ZIGAS**, president of the National Low Income Housing Coalition; **LOUISA STARK**, president of the National Coalition for the Homeless, and **CHRIS SPROWAL**, president of the National Union of the Homeless.

ILLINOIS: Although most 1990 congressional races won't be decided until November of next year, the election for the House seat of black Democratic Rep. GUS SAVAGE (Chicago) will be decided much earlier (after the March 20 primary), and is already warming up. Two candidates have surfaced so far: MEL REYNOLDS, 37, a Rhodes scholar and administrator at the University of Illinois, and state senator HOWARD BROOKINS, 57, who has formed an exploratory committee.

Savage, a 63-year-old five-term incumbent, has been plagued by personal peccadilloes, and is perceived as politically vulnerable. He has recently been accused of sexually molesting and harassing a 28-year-old Peace Corp volunteer while on an official visit to Zaire. The House ethics committee is investigating to determine whether to discipline Savage for the incident. During his eight years in Congress, Savage has also been criticized for unreasonable absenteeism and for missing key House votes, including the vote to raise the minimum wage in March of this year. He was also fined by the Federal Election Commission for failing to disclose sources of campaign contributions.

Despite these failings, Savage's 70-percent black district on Chicago's South Side has consistently returned him to office, mainly because the primary vote has always been splintered by fields of three to seven challengers. Reynolds, who has already announced his candidacy, garnered only 14 percent of the vote when he challenged Savage in 1988. But this time around, Reynolds will have the help of Chicago businessman **AL JOHNSON**, a major fund-raiser for the late Mayor **HAROLD WASHINGTON**, and **CHARLES KELLY**, Reynolds' campaign manager who was a top aide to Washington.

Savage, who received 52 percent of the final tally in his last two election primaries, may again be difficult to beat, especially if he faces more than one opponent. In this overwhelmingly Democratic district, the winner of the March 20 Democratic primary is virtually assured a victory against any GOP opponent in November.

MICHIGAN: The general election in November for mayor of Detroit will pit four-term Democratic Mayor COLEMAN YOUNG against accountant/businessman THOMAS BARROW in a rematch of their 1985 electoral bout. The two were the top vote getters in a fiercely contested non-partisan primary of 15 candidates held September 12. In 1985, Barrow, part owner of the CPA firm of Barrow and Aldridge, led a successful fight to prevent the legalization of casino gambling, in opposition to Young's stance. Barrow subsequently claimed 39 percent of the vote in that year's election challenge against Young. **ERMA HENDERSON**, president of the city council, and Rep. **JOHN CONYERS**, who represents the 1st congressional district in the Motor City, were also candidates in the primary. Conyers, a 25-year veteran of Congress who did not enter the race until late July, suffered from a disorganized campaign. Neither his high name recognition in the city nor **JESSE JACKSON'S** endorsement just two days before the primary availed Conyers at the polls.

WASHINGTON: Black Seattle city councilman NORMAN RICE came in second in a crowded 13-candidate mayoral primary on September 19 and will face city attorney DOUG JEWETT, the first-place finisher, for a run-off general election November 7. Jewett received 24 percent of the vote to Rice's 20 percent. The winner in November will succeed incumbent Democrat **CHARLES ROYER** who is leaving City Hall to join the faculty of Harvard University. **The primary campaign became racially polarized when Jewett attacked the court-mandated busing desegregation plan employed by the city's independent school board since 1977. Jewett was the only candidate to back an initiative, which will be on the November 7 ballot, that would offer schools city tax money if they abandon busing.** Rice is joined by the local Urban League and other civil rights groups in support of the desegregation plan and opposition to the anti-busing initiative.

A Common Destiny

(Continued from page 6)

poverty over the last 40 years so neatly divides into two distinct periods, 1939 to 1973 and 1973 to 1986.

Much of the progress during the first period can be linked to the large-scale migration of Southern blacks northward to centers of industrial activity, at a time when sustained economic growth was creating new jobs. This, combined with new access to education and employment mandated in response to the civil rights movement, created a fertile environment for progress toward desegregation and economic parity.

The recession of the 1970s and the continuing disappearance of manufacturing jobs account for much of the more recent stagnation in black progress. Between 1971 and 1984, average real wages fell for workers of both races. And although the gap between black and white wages continued to narrow, the decline in black employment outweighed that gain—causing the average per capita income for blacks to remain as far below the figure for whites in 1984 as it had been in 1971: 57 percent of white income.

Segregation and Discrimination

Contrary to much popular perception, residential segregation has barely improved in 30 years. When 29 large cities were examined for this study, it was found that they remain, on average, 77 percent segregated. In five cities—Newark, New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, and Birmingham—the extent of such segregation has actually increased since 1960. Moreover, racial boundaries separate neighborhoods with equal severity regardless of residents' income or education, so that middle-class blacks who have left the inner-city for the suburbs continue to find themselves isolated.

The authors emphasize that the persisting segregation of American communities is not coincidental but is largely the result of organized, purposeful exclusion, with black renters and home-buyers frequently "steered" by real estate dealers to all-black neighborhoods. The authors cite a major government study by the Department of Housing and Urban Development in 1977, which found that in 40 metropolitan areas, 70 percent of all applicants were being steered into separate black and white neighborhoods when seeking to rent—and that 90 percent were so steered when seeking to purchase homes.

Likewise, although substantial progress was made in school desegregation in the 1960s and early 1970s, the pace has slowed since. Today, the racial separation of students remains significant, especially in cities outside the South. The authors challenge the notion that practices like busing students to achieve desegregation ultimately lower the quality of education available in formerly all-white classrooms. "School desegregation does not substantially affect the academic performance of white students," they write, "but it does modestly improve black performance—in particular, reading." They also note that a majority of parents and students who have experienced school desegregation continue to support it, and that "intergroup attitudes and relations improve after schools are desegregated."

After reviewing four decades of studies, the authors conclude that while white Americans have become more accepting of principles of racial equality, they remain far less willing to see those principles put into practice, and are "more accepting of equal treatment with regard to the public domains of life than the private domains of life." The authors write further, "It is difficult not to conclude that at some fundamental level the attitudes of a majority of whites toward blacks are ambivalent. Whites express a desire for equal treatment [of blacks], at least when small numbers of blacks are concerned, but when close intimate contact is involved, most whites do not yet accept blacks as social equals."

Other Findings

Gaps in Health Status. Yet another consequence of poverty, segregation, and discrimination is evident in the continuing health gap between the races. The authors note that infant mortality rates are still twice as high for blacks as for whites. Meanwhile, for elderly blacks, poverty, discrimination, and the limited capacity of care centers conspire to limit the availability of long-term care.

Access to general medical services is also more limited for blacks today, 22 percent of whom remain without any coverage by private health insurance or Medicaid (compared to 14 percent of whites). One positive note may be seen in the fact that although births to black teenagers still represent a serious problem, the rate of such births has declined over the last two decades.

The Criminal Justice System. Although blacks are found among prison populations at about four times their proportion of the general population, they are also more likely than whites to be crime victims—six times as likely to be victims of homicide, for example.

Bias in criminal sentencing is also a lingering problem, though it varies from region to region and is not entirely racially motivated. "Current black-white differences in sentencing," the authors find, "appear to be due less to overt racial bias than to socioeconomic differences." Regardless of race, those who are poorer receive, on average, more severe sentences for the same crimes than those who are better off. Measurable racial bias does show up in one important form: criminals whose victims are white are on average punished more severely than those whose victims are black.

The authors of this report recognize that dissatisfaction with the criminal justice system is widespread among blacks today. Given the history of the urban riots of the 1960s, they warn, continued imbalances in the exercise of justice could lead to similar upheavals: "We cannot exclude the possibility of confrontation and violence....The surface calm can disappear very quickly." □

Copies of *A Common Destiny: Blacks and American Society* may be purchased from the National Academy Press, 2101 Constitution Avenue, N.W., Washington D.C. 20418.

National Service: Are Points of Light Enough?

The Senate Has Taken the Spotlight on Volunteer Service Legislation, While George Bush Is Still Warming Up In the Wings

by Jack Gerber and David C. Ruffin

By early morning Robert Issacs, half white and half Lumbee Indian, has already put in several hours' work on his family's tiny farm in rural Madison county in Appalachian Kentucky. At six A.M. he can be found reading from the sports pages to Jeanette Humphrey, a black senior at nearby Berea College. Jeanette is teaching Robert, 17, who has never been to school, basic skills in reading and math. Robert's goal is to be able to buy his own shirts and count his money, apply for a driver's license, and read the sports pages unassisted.

Jeanette, an elementary education major, learned about Robert and the 25 other young people and adults she has tutored through Students for Appalachia, a campus-based organization that links Berea students with people in need of educational enrichment. During the past two years, she has also been the surrogate mother to three white boys—William, Glendon, and Kenny Wilson, ages 13, 10, and five—whose real mother, an alcoholic, has left them.

Jeanette is just one of thousands of dedicated volunteers across the country who give their time and talents to those in need. Policy makers in Congress and the Bush administration have young people like Jeanette in mind as they wrestle over the best way to involve more Americans in volunteer service to the nation.

Last March, the Joint Center held a roundtable to review the various bills for national service that have been introduced in Congress and to assess their impact on both the black community and the larger society. Since the roundtable was conducted, the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee has pulled together a welter of proposals on volunteerism to produce the National Community Service Act of 1989 (S.1430), a compromise bill that could be the first step toward creating a new generation of national service programs. The bill would provide stipends and incentives for volunteers and combine the provisions of several alternative bills under one umbrella program. The committee, chaired by Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), adopted the $300 million bill on August 2 and the measure is expected to go to the Senate floor this fall. Several proposals are under consideration in the House as well, but the full House Education and Labor Committee has yet to act on a comprehensive service program. Congressional proposals on national service differ markedly from George Bush's oft repeated "points of light" concept of civic patriotism. Bush's plan, yet to be unveiled in detail, would require only $25 million a year in federal support, primarily to promote volunteerism.

Service: A Privilege or a Duty?

Of the three dozen bills reviewed at the Joint Center's roundtable, most involve a variety of optional or voluntary social or conservation services for civilians. They would generally offer stipends, cash grants, student aid, or the down payment on a first home in return for service, and would be primarily targeted toward young volunteers in high school or college.

The proposals discussed at the roundtable range from programs that would forgive student loans in return for stints in the Peace Corps or VISTA to the service-in-exchange-for-student-aid bill of Senator Sam Nunn (D-Ga.) and Representative Dave McCurdy (D-Okla.). The Nunn-McCurdy Citizenship and National Service Act (S.3 and H.R.660) was the most controversial of all the proposals and became a lightning rod for opposition. The bill would have made civilian or military service the only way a young person could receive federal student aid or the down payment on a house. All present student aid grants and loan programs would have been abolished and their cumulative $9 billion budgets would have been reallocated to the Nunn-McCurdy service program.

As Lee Ann Alexander, legislative assistant to Rep. McCurdy, stated at the roundtable, "the philosophy behind the Nunn-McCurdy bill is to change student aid from an entitlement program to a benefit program—students shouldn't get aid without working for it." In the framework of this bill, service would have been considered a civic duty

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Army Lieutenant Colonel Gerber, presently posted at the Pentagon, was recently a senior military fellow at the Joint Center. Mr. Ruffin is the editor of *Focus* magazine.

performed *before* receiving public benefits, as opposed to an option that citizens are lured to with incentives.

Opposition to the Nunn-McCurdy approach was strong among black academics and representatives of education organizations attending the roundtable. Many of them took the position that the bill would place further obstacles before low-income students seeking higher education. Michelle Stent, vice president for government affairs of the United Negro College Fund (UNCF), said the bill would place a heavy burden on black students. Since 90 percent of the 45,000 students enrolled at the 41 UNCF colleges and universities depend on financial aid, the Nunn-McCurdy bill, she argued, would impose an "economic draft" on many blacks, Hispanics, and poor whites aspiring to attain a college education. It is unlikely that this burden of service would fall as heavily on youth from upper-income families (most of whom are white) who can afford the rising costs of post-secondary education.

> *Proponents of stipends take the position that they are necessary to induce involvement by low-income participants in volunteer programs.*

A Bill to Revive the Spirit of Service

The Senate's National and Community Service Act (S.1430) does not contain the burdensome provisions of the Nunn-McCurdy bill. Existing student aid and loan programs would remain intact. Voluntary service would not be tied to education benefits. And provisions would be made for young people over 17 from low-income families to receive stipends and in-service training as well as subsequent education benefits and down payments for first homes. Kennedy worked out a compromise among fellow senators Nunn, Christopher Dodd (D-Conn.), Dale Bumpers (D-Ark.), and Barbara Mikulski (D-Md.), who sponsored proposals of their own. Kennedy views the compromise legislation as a measure that will "revive the spirit of service in America."

The bill was adopted by the Senate's Labor and Human Resources Committee by a vote of 11-to-4, with Republicans Thad Cochran of Mississippi and Dave Durenberger of Minnesota joining the Democrats in voting for the measure. Funding for the bill, totalling $300 million annually, would be evenly divided into three titles focusing separately on student volunteers, disadvantaged volunteers, and demonstration programs. Title I of the Act would authorize $100 million for competitive grants to states for community-service programs, based at schools and college campuses, primarily for student volunteers. This title also encourages the innovative use of work-study funds for volunteer programs and would offer partial cancellation of student loan debts in exchange for full-time community service after college.

Title II of the Act would establish a $100 million Youth Service Corps targeted toward young volunteers from disadvantaged backgrounds. The Corps would be administered by a new National Service Corporation which would provide states, on a competitive basis, with funds to support full-time or summer social-service and conservation corps programs for young people ages 16 to 25. These programs would be modeled on the conservation corps presently operating in 25 states, whose volunteers respond to floods and forest fires, build bridges and park facilities, and work on environmental projects. In-service education and training would be emphasized and volunteers would receive stipends equal to 100 percent of the poverty line and post-service education benefits worth up to $100 a week.

The Act would set aside the remaining $100 million (increasing to $300 million within five years) for Title III which would support innovative state-run demonstration programs for volunteers over 17. This part of the measure is designed to encourage Americans of varying ages and from different backgrounds to participate in addressing the special needs of local communities. It would offer volunteers stipends and end-of-service grants of $8,500 a year for up to two years, to be used for education and/or a first-home purchase.

Bush: More Light—Less Money

While the Congress moves forward on national service, the White House lags behind. President Bush has yet to name the members of his Points of Light Initiative Foundation Advisory Committee, although he has appointed its chairman, Republican Governor Thomas Kean of New Jersey. Over the committee's 45-day life, it will be charged with drafting legislation to establish the Foundation and formulate a national service program that conforms to Bush's philosophy of service.

While it is unclear what form a White House legislative proposal will take, administration officials have criticized the Senate proposal as too expensive. They have also argued that the creation of a National Service Corporation, a new federal agency, would unnecessarily expand the federal bureaucracy and might deemphasize local initiatives. Pointing to unremunerated volunteer work—such as that coordinated by the Red Cross and 4-H Clubs—administration officials have criticized the stipended activities proposed by S.1430 as running counter to the principle of volunteerism and as being likely to result in capping the number of participants. Senate proponents of stipends, however, take the position that stipends are necessary to induce involvement by low-income participants, few of whom participate in 4-H Clubs and similar organizations.

The National and Community Service Act is on a fast track and is expected to be taken up soon by the full Senate. The House Education and Labor Committee is also expected to produce a comprehensive bill this fall. But most observers concur that before an agreed-upon national service program is enacted, some hard bargaining will have to take place between the White House and Capitol Hill. □

Abortion: Whose Issue Is It Anyway?

Poor and Minority Women Speak Out on Reproductive Freedom, Which Faces New Restrictions With the Supreme Court's Webster *Ruling*

by Teri Cotton

"C.H., a 29-year-old black woman with three children, was admitted [to the hospital] with a history of vomiting, diarrhea, lower abdominal cramps for three days, and vaginal bleeding for one day. [She was 10 weeks pregnant]. The cervix was dilated and some tissue was presenting. Her condition was deteriorating and antibiotics and blood transfusions were administered... on the fourth hospital day an exploratory operation was performed and there was ... a one-inch perforation in the top of the uterus. A hysterectomy was performed, accompanied by additional blood transfusions. Her condition continued to deteriorate, and death occurred on the 9th hospital day [as a result of an unsafe abortion]...."

–from the *Official Journal of the American College of Obstetrics and Gynecology,* August 1962, reprinted in the "Women of Color" friend-of-the-court brief filed with the U.S. Supreme Court for the *Webster* case.

"Death occurred on the ninth hospital day." These words echo a tragic and senseless fate in an era of modern medicine and enlightened legal and political thought. Although most women today would like to believe that unsafe abortions are a relic of the past, the Supreme Court's decision last July in *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services* has increased the likelihood that they may once again be compelled for women of limited means. For these women, the deepest fear is that C.H.'s fate could become their own.

The *Webster* decision gives state legislatures renewed authority to regulate abortion, allowing them to prohibit the use of state funding or other public support for the procedure. It also allows states to violate the trimester framework established by the Court's 1973 *Roe v. Wade* ruling. The landmark *Roe* decision, which declared abortion a constitutionally protected right in all states, determined that during the first trimester of pregnancy any abortion decision was a private matter between a woman and her doctor, that between the onset of the second trimester and fetus viability the state government could intervene to save the life of the mother (but not the fetus), and that only after viability could the government intervene to save the fetus. Under *Webster,* however, state governments are free to intervene—wherever state support is involved—to save the fetus at any stage of the pregnancy. Thus, although the Court's decision last July does not officially overturn *Roe,* many agree it signals the Court's intention to begin chipping away at abortion rights.

The *Webster* ruling grew out of a challenge to highly restrictive state abortion legislation in Missouri. The Court upheld the Missouri law, which forbids public employees from performing abortion services, bans the use for such services of public hospitals and other taxpayer-supported facilities, and requires that viability tests be carried out on any fetus thought to be 20 weeks old or older; if the fetus proves viable at that point, abortion is generally prohibited by another Missouri statute.

Even before the *Webster* decision, public funding for abortion had been somewhat restricted by Congress, which in 1976 passed the Hyde Amendment (sponsored by Republican Congressman Henry Hyde of Illinois) outlawing federal funding of abortion. The Missouri law's additional restrictions on state funds and support, combined with its requirement of costly viability tests, will make access to abortion extremely difficult for low-income women in that state and others with similiar laws. Many of these women simply cannot afford the costs of the procedure at private hospitals and clinics.

Emerging Voices, Divergent Views

The *Webster* ruling has reinvigorated both pro-choice and pro-life advocates, who are preparing to fight at the state level now that the Court has moved the issue there. The National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL) reports that its national and affiliate membership has risen 75 percent (to approximately 300,000) since the Court agreed to hear the case last fall. Anti-abortion organizations likewise report an increased awareness of the issue and an increase in the number of people pledging to stop what they often describe as "the killing of babies." Today, as the average citizen grapples to understand what the *Webster* case in fact decided, the threat of an end to accustomed abortion rights raises the need to reevaluate their significance, especially for lower-income and minority women who have not been active in the abortion debate.

Yet, even while the voices of minority and lower-income women have become more prominent in recent years (see "Black Women Take a Stand on Reproductive Freedom," *Political Trendletter*), their number remains small. Part of the problem is the way abortion issues have been framed.

Ms. Cotton, a senior at Wellesley College, was an intern this summer at the Joint Center.

A *Boston Globe* article published last April quotes Sabrae Jenkins, director of the Washington, D.C.-based Women of Color Partnership Program, on this matter: "You have pro-choice organizations that are looking solely at the issue of abortion. They're not looking at issues as they relate to women of color." Though the *Globe* article goes on to suggest that the absence of minority women in the abortion debate is part of their historical exclusion from the nation's larger political process, others argue that both the pro-choice and the pro-life sides of the debate have constituted white, middle-class movements. Says Pat Tyson, director of the Religious Coalition for Abortion, a national organization, "There is a sense the movement is not as fully integrated as it could be. In order for us to win the right to choose, it has to be an effective ethnic mix."

Faye Wattleton, who in 1978 became the first black to head Planned Parenthood, also calls for a more inclusive coalition. By handing the abortion fight back to the state legislatures, she argues, the Supreme Court's *Webster* decision "has given us an incredible opportunity to bring people of all ethnicities together, regardless of class lines....The need now is to confront the realities of politics. What I'd like to see us push for is...a reproductive rights amendment to the constitution."

The NAACP, by contrast, has not placed abortion on its national agenda. Of its 2,300 branches, none has considered the issue a priority. Althea Simmons, director of the organization's Washington Bureau, explains: "You have to understand black culture. We are very closely allied to the black church"—and much of that church, Simmons suggests, opposes abortion. Pamela Carr, a spokesperson for Black Americans for Life (part of the National Right to Life Committee) feels that, historically, adoptions within the black extended family have provided an alternative to abortion. "From the very beginnings," says Carr, "the thought of killing a child was outrageous to black families."

Another alternative is advocated by a number of progressive black ministers, including the Reverend Calvin Butts, a prominent minister with the Abyssinian Baptist church in Harlem, New York. "Freedom of choice is a divine right," says Butts. "In that regard, I am pro-choice, and I suggest that all Christian people are pro-choice."

The Consequences for Teens and Minorities

Given the problems of teenage pregnancy and persistent poverty in many minority communities, abortion rights and family planning would seem to be closely connected. Yet family planning has generally been ignored in the abortion debate. Out-of-wedlock childbearing among teens is strongly associated with poverty, school dropout, and welfare. Teenage pregnancy is clearly a severe problem for the black minority: black women are twice as likely as white women to become pregnant before the age of 18 (41 percent versus 21 percent, respectively). And although many of those pregnancies are terminated, the final birth figures are even more unbalanced: whereas seven percent of white women give birth during these teen years, the figure for black women is 26 percent.

Susan Smith, congressional liaison for the National Right to Life Committee, asserts that "rather than being a part of the solution to teenage pregnancy, abortion is a part of the problem." While Smith does not deny that women who have abortions make a difficult choice, she nonetheless believes abortion is used as a "method of birth control." Most women who seek abortions, Smith contends, have had unprotected sex and have been "less cautious" because this procedure is so easy to obtain.

Rebecca Stone, a policy director of the Center for Population Options, a national non-profit organization dedicated to preventing teenage pregnancy and childbearing, takes another view: "Most teens don't face the crucial decision of whether they can or want to have a child until they are already pregnant," she noted in a recent issue of the Center's monthly newsletter, *Options*. "By eliminating the right to choose abortion, the state would force unwanted childbearing and motherhood on those thousands of teenage girls who simply do not consider in a mature way the potentially grave and life-altering consequences of their sexual activity."

The abortion statistics on young women are clear in their implications. According to the Alan Guttmacher Institute, a research organization for the New York City-based Planned Parenthood, Inc., about three percent of American women aged 15 to 44 end unwanted pregnancy in abortion. The highest concentration of these women is among the younger groups: 3.2 percent of those 15-17 years old, 6.2 percent of those 18-19 years old, and 5.5 percent of those 20-24 years old.

Poor and minority women, as well, make up a disproportionately large part of those who seek abortion. Minority women are more than twice as likely as white women to have abortions—5.3 percent versus 2.3 percent. Moreover, in terms of income, the highest proportion (6.2 percent) is among women who have annual incomes of less than $11,000. In 1985, 60 percent of all reported abortions were performed in abortion clinics and only 13 percent were performed in hospitals. Thus the availability of these clinics is paramount to women whose limited income does not allow for the luxury of a private hospital. "The consequences [of *Webster*] are appalling for women of color and poor women," argues Leslie Wolf, executive director of the Center for Women's Policy Studies in Washington, D.C. "Their rights will be most restricted."

A Return to "Back Alley Butchers"?

Pro-choice advocates are concerned about the inherent danger to women who could once again be forced to seek illegal abortions. Says Sabrae Jenkins of the Women of Color Partnership Program: "You have to look at what women have done in the past" to terminate a pregnancy, Jenkins explains. "This includes not paying rent [so that they can afford an abortion], maiming, killing [themselves], and [unsafe] chemically and physically induced abortions. Members of the pro-choice movement fear that restrictions will not end abortion but rather divide women into two

(Continued on page 12)

Abortion: Whose Issue Is It Anyway?

(Continued from page 11)

classes—those who can afford to get abortions safely and those who must resort to 'back alley butchers'."

A friend-of-the-court brief submitted in the *Webster* case, signed by more than 100 civil rights, women's, and labor groups, including the National Council of Negro Women and the National Urban League enumerates the dangers of illegal abortion. The brief notes that between 1975 and 1979, roughly a third of the women who died from complications caused by illegal abortions had undergone the illegal procedure because they lacked the money to obtain it legally.

Before abortion became legal nationwide, such deaths were disproportionately minority tragedies: in 1972, minority women accounted for 64 percent of them. But because abortion remained a costly option even after legalization, minority women remained at the highest risk. In 1975 they accounted for 80 percent of the deaths.

Minority women are affected disproportionately because so many are poor. Whereas eight percent of white families were below the poverty line in 1987, for black families the rate was 30 percent, for Hispanic families 26 percent. Lack of access to medical facilities is a further problem, especially for Native Americans living on reservations and other people of color living in rural areas.

Poverty also contributes to the frequent failure of pregnant teenagers to receive prenatal care. Some teenagers, attempting to hide or deny their condition, do not seek such care until very late. Meanwhile, for those who decide late in the pregnancy that they are not ready for parenthood, abortion becomes an unsafe and costly option.

The Debate Is Just Beginning

The power the Court has given state legislatures through the *Webster* decision ensures that the abortion issue will dominate the nation's political agenda for years to come. Louisiana is one of several states that have begun using their new-found power to restrict access to abortion and to draw political party lines around the issue in their legislatures. And although in the national platforms of the two major parties Republicans oppose abortion rights while Democrats favor them, the issue crosses party lines at the state and local levels. Last July, the *New York Times* reported that "Republican state legislators from affluent suburbs favor abortion rights [and] ... Democrats from rural areas or white urban enclaves are opposed to abortion."

The apparent ambiguity in many citizens' thinking on the issue will make it even tougher for politicians to take a firm stance either for or against abortion rights. According to a poll published last March by the *Los Angeles Times,* 74 percent of Americans believe abortion is morally wrong (as the pro-life side argues) but also that a woman should bear the right to choose to have an abortion (as the pro-choice side argues).

Meanwhile, activists on both sides believe that *Webster* marks the beginning of an extensive attack by the Supreme Court on *Roe v. Wade.* Three cases the Court will hear this term could make abortion an even more limited option for all women. In *Ohio v. Akron Center for Reproductive Health,* the right of teenage girls to obtain abortions without parental notification will be considered. Similarly, *Hodgson v. Minnesota* concerns a requirement that *both* parents be notified before a teenage girl can receive an abortion. The third case, *Turnock v. Ragsdale,* involves an Illinois statute which regulates the practices of private clinics; the right-to-life advocates argue that limiting in this way the facilities that can provide abortions ensures safer procedures, while pro-choice advocates argue that it could eliminate many smaller clinics which low-income women and teens rely on.

It is clear that the issue of abortion heavily affects the lives of poor women—and consequently of minority women—yet rather than appearing in the forefront of the debate these groups remain, for the most part, bystanders. Those who are presently active on both sides of the abortion question have called for greater participation by their sisters of color. They note that whereas for all women abortion is at least a matter of politics, for women of color it is a matter of life and death. ☐

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Hope for the Homeless

The Mission of the Late Rep. Mickey Leland,
Who Spoke Out Against Hunger and Homelessness, Remains Relevant Today

City Volunteer Corps: A Model for the Nation

New York City's Voluntary Program Proves That a Service Corps
Can Provide Community Benefits While Uplifting Young Volunteers

Closed Doors on Capitol Hill

Black Senate Staffers Seek More Minority Representation in Policy-Level Positions

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Perspective

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Continuing Mickey's Struggle, Sounding the Alarm

Last August, in a storm-darkened sky somewhere over Ethiopia, a light went out, a soul was lost. George "Mickey" Leland—an ebullient optimist, an irrepressible humanitarian, a smiling messenger of hope—will not appear again at our intimate forums or walk within the corridors of power. He will be screly missed.

Mickey Leland was a leader and a fighter. He was the architect of a congressional committee on hunger that speaks for the millions of malnourished men, women, and children both here and in other countries. He chaired the House Select Committee on Hunger from its founding in 1984 until he died. Mickey used that committee as his fighting platform. From it he reminded us of the needs of those Americans—in New York ghettoes and East Los Angeles barrios, on the Mississippi Delta and the Mexican border, and across the hills of West Virginia—who often go without food, without shelter. He reminded us, too, that hunger and homelessness are not just American tragedies. The hungry and shelterless in need of assistance are also to be found in far-away places like Fugnido, a relief camp in Ethiopia.

In his ten and a half years in Congress, Mickey accomplished much, not the least of which was to push the U.S. government (headed by a president not likely to be remembered for his compassion), to provide more than $800 million in food aid to starving Africans during the merciless drought of 1984. He also introduced the first comprehensive legislation to aid our nation's homeless.

Mickey worked hard to see that no group or class was left to fall between the cracks. He introduced legislation to ensure that 16-to-21-year-old homeless youths, not covered by earlier bills, would qualify for transitional shelters and aid. He called attention to the nutritional and health needs of rural Americans, migrant workers, Native Americans, and others often overlooked. And he worked to revise eligibility requirements so that family farmers in trouble could qualify for federal food assistance without having to sell their farms.

Mickey believed in putting the needs of people before the divisions and jealousies of politics. His proposal two years ago for a joint U.S.-Soviet effort to feed the people of Mozambique was not untypical. Neither was his meeting with Pope John Paul II to ask for the Pontiff's support in African famine relief. He spoke out for Americans trying to ship food and medical supplies to the war-ravaged citizens of Nicaragua, defending the right of U.S. citizens to donate humanitarian aid to suffering civilians anywhere in the world.

Today, with reports of yet another African drought and with the crisis of homelessness growing in our own country, we need more Mickey Lelands—to sound the alarm and push our government to help.

In this issue of *Focus,* we share with you a moment when Mickey was in full fighting form—speaking at a fundraising dinner for the homeless in New York. The speech was made over a year ago, but that same speech could have been made at the "Housing Now" march that filled the Mall in Washington on October 7th. With winter coming, the need to provide shelter, food, and clothing to homeless families is more acute than ever.

Yes, Mickey is gone, but his legacy remains. Let us all join together, in Mickey's memory, and continue the struggle. It is time for others to pick up his mantle; there is much to be done. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

FOCUS

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Hope for the Homeless

The Mission of the Late Rep. Mickey Leland, Who Spoke Out Against Hunger and Homelessness, Remains Relevant Today

Editor's note: With the massive October 7th "Housing Now" march on Washington signaling an increased grassroots activism on behalf of expanded low-income housing, the following adaptation of a speech delivered over a year ago by the late Rep. Mickey Leland remains timely. Rep. Leland's speech was given in April 1988 at the "Hope for the Homeless" dinner sponsored by the Grace Church Community Center in White Plains, New York. Proceeds from the annual fundraiser go to 10 groups that provide food, shelter, clothing, and transportation to the homeless in Westchester County, New York.

It was only a few months prior to this speech that Congress had passed the Stewart B. McKinney Urgent Relief for the Homeless bill, over the objections of the Reagan administration. But even though the bill was passed, more support was needed. In response, a number of legislators are sponsoring new legislation in support of low-income housing (for example, see Rep. Julian Dixon's [D-Calif.] article, "Housing: Recognizing the Crisis, Taking Action," Focus, *June, 1989). It is doubtful that any of the proposed bills will make it through both houses of Congress this session.*

The talent gathered here tonight is indeed awesome. We have those who can move and shape the material world to bring hope to the homeless—architects, engineers, representatives of major banks and corporations. We have leaders who bring together the legal and political elements to create new housing. We have artists and media people who have helped us understand the inhumanity of homelessness as it exists in our country today. You have mobilized public opinion and you have been an enormous force in bringing about change.

Thousands of Americans need the hope for the homeless you offer.

They live packed like sardines on the floors of the Port Authority Building [in New York City] and other terminals across the country.

They live as families in cars or on the beaches where they sleep in circles like nomads, with the weaker young and old people in the center.

They live as mothers in shelters where their babies die more often than other children.

They live on the streets with only grates for warmth, suffering from frostbite and tuberculosis.

We live in the same world, the world of a housing crisis. It is a double crisis—a crisis of those without a home, unknown and rejected—and the crisis of a stony-hearted society. Every day thousands of people literally step over the bodies of homeless people and go about their business. It is unconscionable to allow either crisis to continue.

Americans say "shelter the homeless" in church and temple on Sunday and the Sabbath, but say "not in my neighborhood" on weekdays.... The homeless have become pariahs.

As chairman of the House Select Committee on Hunger, I met homeless people who suffered physical and emotional damage. Wherever the committee investigated hunger and emergency feeding programs, we found homeless people, standing in line at soup kitchens and food pantries. This was true across the nation from San Francisco to Brooklyn.

The generosity of churches and voluntary groups in providing food during the past decade has been magnificent. My fellow guest, Governor Cuomo [D-N.Y.], is such an innovator in housing. His program, the Housing Enterprise for the Less Privileged (HELP), is a creative new response to the horror story of homelessness. HELP takes the federal emergency money that would otherwise be poured into welfare hotels and sets up transitional housing for homeless families. The beauty of HELP is that the housing can later be made permanent.

Caring, compassionate people everywhere have taken action. With you, they are in the vanguard. The initiatives launched by people like yourselves at the local level have literally saved lives. You are the leaders we must turn to, to find the sites and to build the housing in order to end this national scandal.

Let me emphasize the word national. National policies created the crisis. A substantive national response is needed to end it.

You may well ask, what is happening in Washington?

Is there a national policy that recognizes the needs of the homeless in Westchester County or Los Angeles or Washington?

I regret that the answer is no. Congressional leadership

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Rep. Leland represented the 18th Congressional District of Texas in Houston from 1978 to August 1989, when he, eight other Americans, and seven Ethiopians were killed in a plane crash in Ethiopia while on a humanitarian mission.

Hope for the Homeless

(Continued from page 3)

has succeeded in forcing progress in the past year, despite administration objections, but we have miles to go before we sleep.

[In 1987] Congress enacted two laws which begin to redress years of ignorance and neglect. The Stewart B. McKinney Urgent Relief for the Homeless bill extended help through emergency and transitional housing, health and mental health care, job training, and other support services. For the first time we looked at the array of human problems which cause, and are caused by, homelessness.

> If we determine our priorities properly and we exercise the political will, we can end homelessness in America.

Public Law 100-242 passed the Senate shortly before three a.m. on December 22, [1987]. It was a difficult birth. This was the first housing legislation enacted since 1980. It authorized $30.3 billion for federal housing programs through fiscal year 1989. In no way does this legislation begin to recover the ground lost by the 80 percent decline in federal money spent for new housing during the 1980s. On the positive side, the bill authorized for the first time, but for a limited time, the Nehemiah program which provides interest-free loans in targeted areas; it sustained the Community Development Block Grants and assured counseling of homeowners about to lose their homes.

As the Reagan administration denied a federal housing responsibility, the homeless population exploded and its nature changed significantly. The growth of the number of families without shelter has been astounding. In December 1987, the U.S. Conference of Mayors reported that 33 percent of homeless persons were in families, a five percent increase from 1986.

More and more children are homeless. These children will grow up to be angry, undereducated, and unemployable. Many will likely find themselves in prison, prisons reminiscent of the Martinique Hotel [a New York City transient facility in which homeless families are housed] and other dehumanizing shelters.

More and more working people are homeless. They work full or part time but cannot earn enough to pay for both rent and food, much less save up for a security deposit. For the working poor, homelessness is caused by the lack of affordable housing and by a minimum wage of $3.35 an hour.

The minimum wage was $3.35 in 1981. It is more than $2,000 below the poverty level for a family of three. While there is a good possibility that an increased minimum wage will pass Congress this year, the homeless still face limited housing and limited access to existing dwellings. [editors's note: Such a bill, the minimum wage restoration Act (H.R. 2), was passed by Congress last March but vetoed by President Bush in June.]

More and more persons will become homeless until there is concerted government action. The severe shortage of low-rent dwellings will not abate without a stronger federal role. A recent study predicts that by the year 2003 the difference between the number of low-rent units and families needing them will be nearly eight million, representing almost 20 million persons.

The housing crunch is not just squeezing out the poor. It is already affecting the middle class. The percentage of citizens owning homes has been declining since 1980. This is the first decade that has seen such a decline since the 1930s. Two million would-be homeowners will never realize the American dream. The first-time home buyer last year was 31 years old, four years older than the average 10 years ago. Exorbitant housing prices in New York and other cities make it difficult for business to recruit mid-level managers, forcing businesses to relocate. *Housing is everyone's problem.*

A genuine national commitment to house all Americans adequately must be reaffirmed and restated. Brookings Institution housing expert Anthony Downs believes 10 to 20 billion dollars a year is needed to meet that commitment. That is far more than the $1.6 billion recommended in the Affordable Permanent Housing for the Homeless Act of 1988 which I introduced this year. This bill is designed to bring 38,000 units on-line in six months to a year from enactment. The units would be specifically for homeless individuals and families, handicapped persons, and those in imminent danger of becoming homeless. [editor's note: The bill, H.R. 4024, never made it out of the Banking Subcommittee on Housing and was not considered by the full House. Rep. Leland did not reintroduce the bill this year.]

Another piece of legislation now pending, of which I am especially proud, is the Transitional Living for Runaway and Homeless Youth bill, which yesterday was added as an amendment to the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act. Until now there has been nothing for the 16-to-21-year-old homeless youths who are not living with their families, although they comprise three to four percent of the homeless population. [editor's note: The bill, H.R. 178, never made it out of the Education and Labor Subcommittee on Human Resources. It has not been reintroduced this year.]

While the federal government ignored the housing crisis, state governments moved ahead. As many of you know, New York is the lead state, proposing to spend $1.5 billion for housing in 1988. Overall, from 1980 to 1987 state governments created 112 housing programs, compared with 44 state-run efforts in all prior years.

The magnitude of homelessness demands a response at every level of government. The housing bureaucracy must become more flexible and be better trained. It must promote rather than impede innovation. The possibility that the housing problem exceeds the capacity of non-profit organizations must be considered.

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October 1989

JCPS

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Inside This Issue

- **San Francisco case tests the Supreme Court's recent *Martin v. Wilks* anti-affirmative-action ruling.**
- **Sen. Orrin Hatch apologizes for a letter smearing TransAfrica director Randall Robinson for advocating normalized relations between the U.S. and Angola.**
- ***Black Elected Officials: A National Roster, 1989* to be released by JCPS in December, shows that new Alabama election laws caused a sharp rise in the rate of increase of black officeholders.**
- **Across the Nation looks at new opposition in Arizona to a statewide Martin Luther King Jr. holiday; Maynard Jackson is elected mayor again in Atlanta; blacks run for mayor in Cleveland; and former civil rights activist James Meredith joins Sen. Jesse Helms' staff.**

White Policemen Test High Court's Discrimination Ruling

On September 25, seven white police officers in San Francisco filed suit in state superior court, in *Ratti v. City and County of San Francisco,* claiming that less-qualified minority officers have been unfairly promoted over whites as the city has carried out its court-ordered affirmative action plan instituted in 1979. The officers cited the Supreme Court's recent *Martin v. Wilks* ruling, which found that individuals not party to original affirmative-action consent decrees may sue a state or local government, or even a private business or institution, for "reverse discrimination" if the plaintiffs believe they have suffered hardships brought about by the resulting affirmative-action plans. The *Martin* ruling, issued in June 1989, allows such relitigation even if the individuals had knowingly bypassed opportunities to intervene in the original litigation and the plans have been in place for years. (See July issue of *Focus*.)

The High Court ruled in *Martin* that white firefighters in Birmingham, Alabama, could challenge that city's 1981 consent decree, which provided for numerical minority hiring goals in Birmingham's fire and police departments, years after the decree had been settled. The decision has since been denounced by civil rights advocates as an assault on past affirmative-action gains.

San Francisco's affirmative action plan, imposes minority hiring formulas on the city to remedy the effects of past discrimination. The plan grew out of a 1973 suit by minority and women officers in the city's police force who charged the city with discriminatory hiring and promotion practices. Although the discrimination issue was presumed settled by the implementation of the plan, the seven white policemen are suing to relitigate it anew. The attorney for the white policemen, **ROBERT E. GYEMANT,** claims their suit, which calls for back pay and punitive damages, was filed to provide the white officers with a "colorblind and sex-blind opportunity to advance." In response, San Francisco's City Attorney **LOUISE RENNE** argues that the lawsuit is simply "plowing old ground." Although the white officers filed their suit with the state superior court, the city has succeeded in moving the case to the federal court. The city has petitioned to have the current case presided over by the same federal judge, **ROBERT PECKHAM,** who ruled on the 1979 consent decree.

Following the High Court's decision last June, some civil rights lawyers expressed fears that the *Martin* decision would open the door to relitigation of long-settled affirmative-action agreements throughout the country. The San Francisco suit may prove that their fears were well founded. Several similar reverse-discrimination cases are also underway to overturn affirmative action plans in Birmingham and Boston. In Birmingham alone, 14 separate cases have been filed against the city's affirmative-action employment policies. The cases in all three cities will be closely watched as they make their way through the courts.

Sen. Hatch Apologizes for Smear Against Randall Robinson

Yielding to strong protests from TransAfrica executive director RANDALL ROBINSON and the Congressional Black Caucus, U.S. Sen. ORRIN G. HATCH (R-Utah) apologized for an October 2 letter bearing his signature that asked the Justice Department to investigate Robinson for his foreign policy stands. In a smear effort reminiscent of those conducted by the late Republican senator JOE MCCARTHY in the early

1950s, Hatch's letter accused Robinson of spreading "Marxist propaganda under the cover of academic independence" and requested Attorney General RICHARD THORNBURGH to investigate Robinson for supporting the government of the People's Republic of Angola in southern Africa. Hatch's accusation, in which he cited the Foreign Agent Registration Act, is based on Robinson's position that the United States should recognize the government of Angola, which is of socialist orientation, and end U.S. support of the Angolan rebel movement, the Union for the Total Liberation of Angola (UNITA), led by JONAS SAVIMBI. Long allied with the racist regime of South Africa, Savimbi's forces have received arms and financial assistance from both the Reagan and Bush administrations.

Demonstrating little familiarity with the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, the Hatch letter attacks Robinson for "actively working to change stated U.S. foreign policy." Robinson, a leading supporter of the successful 1986 campaign for congressional legislation to impose economic sanctions against South Africa, takes issue with being painted as a Communist. "Working for a change in U. S. policy," he points out, "is precisely what the Constitution guarantees every American the right to do."

In his apology, Hatch claimed that the "stupid letter," as he referred to it, was written by an aide and was mailed without his knowledge—and that the aide has since been reprimanded. Robinson, a former congressional aide himself, is skeptical of the explanation, claiming that no staffer would be allowed to remain on a senator's payroll after such a blunder. Speaking for the Congressional Black Caucus, Rep. **ALAN WHEAT** (D-Mo.) says the Caucus will demand that the Justice Department drop the matter and not act on Hatch's request for an investigation.

Some observers view Hatch's letter as reflecting the Senator's desperation—shared by other conservatives—over eroding support for Savimbi on Capitol Hill and perhaps within the Bush administration as well. Lately, Savimbi has even drawn fire from his long-time allies. Recent press accounts in *The Sunday Telegraph* of London and *The New York Times*, for example, have chronicled acts of torture and other human-rights abuses committed by Savimbi's forces in the course of the 13-year Angolan civil war. These reported atrocities, as well as Savimbi's refusal to adhere to a cease-fire agreement with the Angolan government signed last June in Gbadolite, Zaire, may make it difficult for the Bush administration to continue its support of UNITA. To counter what have been numerous official visits to Washington by Savimbi since 1981, including one earlier this month when he met with President Bush, Robinson presented Angolan President JOSE EDUARDO DOS SANTOS with a letter, signed by 36 members of Congress, inviting him to visit the United States. Among those signing the letter are U.S. Sens. PAUL SIMON (D-Ill.), EDWARD KENNEDY (D-Mass.), NANCY KASSEBAUM (R-Kan.), and BILL BRADLEY (D-N.J.), all of whom have agreed to meet with dos Santos if he comes to Washington.

The Number of Black Elected Officials Rose 5.8% During '88

According to the Joint Center's 1989 *Black Elected Officials: A National Roster*, to be released in December, the total number of black elected officials (BEOs) in the United States grew during 1988 to reach a record high of 7,226. This is a significant increase of 397 (or 5.8 percent) over the previous year's total of 6,829. When the Joint Center compiled its first annual count of BEOs in 1970, there were only 1,469. While the number of BEOs has grown steadily over the past 19 years, the *rate* of growth had recently begun to decline—from a 6.1 percent increase in 1985 to 4.0 percent in 1986 and down to 2.2 percent in 1987. The increase during 1988 of 5.8 percent has broken that pattern.

This new increase can largely be attributed to the election last year of 252 black officeholders at all levels in the state of Alabama. The dramatic change there was due to a ruling handed down in June 1988 by Alabama U.S. District Judge MYRON THOMPSON, in the case of *Dillard v. Crenshaw County*, which eliminated at-large systems in over 180 municipal and county jurisdictions after determining that such election systems dilute black voter strength. Alabama now has more BEOs (694) than any other state. It previously ranked fifth in the nation.

The five states with the largest numbers of BEOs today are, in order, Alabama; Mississippi (which ranked first for the past three years) with 646; Louisiana with 521; Georgia with 483; and North Carolina with 449 (see table). While the latest increase of black elected officials is encouraging, black Americans still hold only 1.4 percent of all elective offices in the United States, even though they number 20.4 million or 11.1 percent of the nation's voting-age population. There are presently no black U.S. senators—and there has been no black governor since Reconstruction. However, the fortunes of Virginia Lieutenant Governor **L. DOUGLAS WILDER**, running for governor of his state this year, and of Atlanta Mayor **ANDREW YOUNG**, who may make a 1990 gubernatorial bid in Georgia, could produce a historic change.

Further expansion in the ranks of black elected officials will depend, in part, on a greater number of black candidates running in more jurisdictions where blacks are a numerical minority. Presently, most of the

electoral jurisdictions with black voter majorities are saturated with black incumbents. And continued progress in black electoral politics will require high turnouts of black voters at the polls. In addition, of course, there is the need to assure fairness in the electoral process by challenging and overturning discriminatory practices and procedures, as was done in Alabama last year. Success in these challenges is not automatic. In Virginia, for example, Federal District Judge RICHARD WILLIAMS let stand the state's system of appointed school boards in his 1988 decision in *Irby v. Fitzhugh.* Plaintiffs in that case had charged that by barring popularly elected school boards, the state was in effect preventing blacks from being equitably represented on county and municipal educational policy organs.

Black Elected Officials in the United States, January 1989

			Federal		State				Substate Regional		County			Municipal					Judicial and Law Enforcement						Education			
State	Total	Net Change since January 31, 1988	Senators	Representatives	Governors	Administrators	Senators	Representatives	Members, Regional Bodies	Other Regional Officials	Members, County Governing Bodies	Members, Other County Bodies	Other County Officials	Mayors	Members, Municipal Governing Bodies	Members, Municipal Boards	Members, Neighborhood Advisory Commissions	Other Municipal Officials	Judges, State Courts of Last Resort	Judges, Other Courts	Magistrates, Justices of the Peace, Constables	Other Judicial Officials	Police Chiefs, Sheriffs, and Marshals	Other Law Enforcement Officials	Members, State Education Agencies	Members, University and College Boards	Members, Local School Boards	Other Education Officials
Alabama	694	252					5	18			71		15	30	398				1	13	41	6	6		2		86	2
Alaska	4	0						1							2												1	
Arizona	12	-1					1	2							4											1	4	
Arkansas	318	-8					1	5						24	147			17		2	37					1	84	
California	276	-10		4			2	5	4		8	1	2	10	44	5		4	1	79		1	1			16	89	
Colorado	14	-1					1	3							3					3		1					3	
Connecticut	63	0				1	3	5						2	31	2		2			2						15	
Delaware	23	1					1	2						3	11							1					5	
District of Columbia	242	-2		1										1	10		222										8	
Florida	179	3					2	9			12	2		15	96	2		2	1	20			1				15	2
Georgia	483	25		1			7	23			98		4	15	225	2		3		18	2	1	1				81	2
Hawaii	1	0																									1	
Idaho	0	0																										
Illinois	444	1		3		1	7	14			38	2	1	18	152	45		18		23		1				2	119	
Indiana	68	1					2	6			13			1	28		4	2		3							9	
Iowa	9	0					1				1				3							1					3	
Kansas	23	-5					1	3			2			1	4	1				2							9	
Kentucky	68	-2					1	1			1			2	47					2	2	1	1	1			9	
Louisiana	521	-3					5	15			116	1		19	169			2		8	42	1	15		1		127	
Maine	3	0												1	1												1	
Maryland	118	-2		1			5	22			6			8	56		1		1	11		3					4	
Massachusetts	38	3					1	5			1				13	6					1						11	
Michigan	306	-10		2		1	2	14			24			10	80			17	1	52	4				1	14	84	
Minnesota	12	0						1						1	3					4			1				2	
Mississippi	646	68		1		1	2	20			67	52	4	25	282			3	1	1	56	10	6				107	8
Missouri	163	-2		2			3	13			3			16	87			6		10		2	2			2	17	
Montana	0	0																										
Nebraska	4	0					1								1												2	
Nevada	10	0					1	2			1				2					2						1	1	
New Hampshire	3	2						3																				
New Jersey	199	4		1			2	6			7		1	10	92							1					79	
New Mexico	6	0				1					1				1					2							1	
New York	252	2		4			5	16			13			2	30	5				48	1	1					127	
North Carolina	449	21					3	12			42	2	1	17	262				1	20		3	4				82	
North Dakota	0	0																										
Ohio	216	0		1			2	11			1	1		9	101	3		9		28					1		49	
Oklahoma	115	3					2	3			2			13	47			21		1			1				25	
Oregon	9	-1					2	1			1				2	1				2								
Pennsylvania	139	2		1			3	15						5	42			3	2	34	13	1					20	
Rhode Island	10	0					1	5							3												1	
South Carolina	373	21					5	16			64	2	2	17	131	1				1			5			1	128	
South Dakota	3	1												2	1													
Tennessee	146	1		1			3	10			47		1	2	41					9	6		1				25	
Texas	312	12		1			2	13			16			13	126	1				15	23		1		2	6	93	
Utah	1	0																		1								
Vermont	2	1						2																				
Virginia	144	18				1	3	7			36		3	6	73			3		1		8	3					
Virgin Islands	35	-1			1	1	9			14															10			
Washington	20	2					2	1			1			1	5					5							5	
West Virginia	24	1						1							18			1		2	1	1						
Wisconsin	24	1					1	4			3				8					3			1				4	
Wyoming	2	-1					1																				1	
Total	7,226	397	0	24	1	7	101	315	4	14	696	63	34	299	2,882	74	227	113	9	425	231	44	50	1	17	44	1,537	14

Source: *Black Elected Officials: A National Roster, 1989*

Across the Nation

ARIZONA: Last month, Democratic Governor ROSE MOFFORD signed a bill making Arizona the 47th state to establish the birthday of Rev. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., as a statewide holiday. Yet the governor's action has already come under attack by forces in the state who oppose the measure. Less than a week after Mofford signed the bill replacing the state's paid Columbus Day holiday with the King holiday, JULIAN SANDERS, head of the Holiday Referendum Committee, filed a petition with the Secretary of State's Office to force a referendum on the issue. If Sanders' efforts succeed, the legislation establishing the King holiday will be repealed, reinstating Columbus Day as a paid holiday.

The establishment of a King holiday has been a bone of contention for several years. In 1987, then-governor **EVAN MECHAM**, a conservative Republican, rescinded a King holiday that his predecessor had established the year before by executive order, substituting in its stead a "Civil Rights and Martin Luther King Day" to be observed on the third *Sunday* of January. Mecham's Democratic predecessor in the statehouse, **BRUCE BABBITT**, had issued the order making King's birthday a paid holiday celebrated on the third Monday of January after the state legislature refused to enact a holiday bill.

Sanders, an architect and contractor from Tempe, bases his opposition to honoring Dr. King on the unproven assertion that the civil rights leader had ties to the Communist party. Denying that his actions are racially motivated, Sanders claims that, "The goals and objectives of King were the same as those of other Marxists and socialists—using government to confiscate unequal taxes to take from the haves and give to the have-nots."

Another group, composed primarily of Italian-Americans, have joined Sanders in the petitioning under the banner of the Committee for the Restoration of Columbus Day. If 43,350 signatures are collected by December 21, the issue will be on the ballot in the state's general election in November 1990. Another petition, filed by the Columbus Recognition Committee, calls for both the King day and the Columbus day to be paid holidays.

Mofford assumed the governorship in 1988, while serving as secretary of state, after Governor Mecham was impeached for his involvement in campaign finance improprieties. Mofford has stated that Arizona's failure to enact a King holiday has cost the state over $257 million because national organizations have boycotted it as a convention site. There was also concern that the controversy around the repeal of the King holiday may have threatened Phoenix's current efforts to host the National Football League Superbowl in 1993.

GEORGIA: By winning 82 percent of the vote in Atlanta's October 3 mayoral election, black Democrat MAYNARD JACKSON has regained the city's top post, which he previously held from 1974 to 1982. (Because of a statutory two-term limit, Jackson had been prevented from running for a third straight term.) Jackson defeated a weak field of five other candidates in the nonpartisan election. His victory was considered inevitable by political pundits after his most serious opponent, Fulton County Commissioner **MICHAEL LOMAX**, withdrew from the race last August when faced with Jackson's commanding 34-percentage-point lead in the opinion polls.

HOSEA L. WILLIAMS, a former associate of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. during the civil rights movement, promptly entered the race upon Lomax's withdrawal, explaining that he did so because "no other qualified candidate would run." Williams, who served in the Georgia General Assembly and has been a member of Atlanta's City Council since 1985, gave up his council seat to run against Jackson. He finished a distant second, receiving only 17 percent of the vote.

Jackson, who showed promise at an early age as a Phi Beta Kappa graduate from Morehouse College at only 18, was vice mayor and president of the City Council from 1970 to 1974. Since last serving as mayor, Jackson has been a municipal bond attorney in the Atlanta office of a Chicago-based law firm and, an officer on the Democratic National Committee and in the Democratic Party of Georgia.

NORTH CAROLINA: In a surprise move, Senator JESSE HELMS (R-N.C.), a long-time opponent of civil rights, has hired former civil rights activist JAMES MEREDITH as a domestic policy adviser. Meredith gained his place in civil rights history in 1962 when at the age of 29 he challenged the University of Mississippi's policy of racial segregation by enrolling for classes at the institution. Four years later, Meredith was shot by a sniper during a 220-mile "March Against Fear" from Memphis, Tennessee, to Jackson, Mississippi. Meredith has since worked as a financial planner and as tree farmer. He was unsuccessful as a candidate for political offices in Mississippi and Ohio (where he alternately ran as a Democrat, Republican, and Independent).

Over the years, the unpredictable Meredith has often found himself at odds with civil rights leaders. He was embittered in 1963 when his proposal for a general strike in Jackson, in response to the assassination of NAACP field secretary MEDGAR EVERS, was rejected. And in recent years, Meredith's conservative—sometimes reactionary—views have drawn opposition.

Since his 1972 election to the Senate, Helms has had a solid voting record *against* civil rights legislation and domestic social spending programs that benefit minorities and the poor. He strenuously opposed extension of the Voting Rights Act in 1982, legislation to establish a national holiday honoring Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in 1983, and economic sanctions against the racist regime of South Africa.

Helms' current term is up in 1990, and political observers view the appointment of Meredith, with his past civil rights record, as a thinly disguised ploy to soften black opposition to his reelection. In his three previous elections, Helms received less than five-percent support from North Carolina's black voters, who make up 23 percent of the voting age population.

OHIO: After all the votes are tallied on November 7, Cleveland is guaranteed to have its second black mayor, since the top two vote-getters in the city's October 3 nonpartisan primary—City Councilman GEORGE L. FORBES and State Senator MICHAEL WHITE—are both black. The primary fielded five candidates in all, but only the top two candidates qualified for the November run-off election. Of the two, Forbes, an attorney who won 38 percent of the primary vote and has served on the City Council for 26 years (including the last 16 years as president) is considered most likely to win in November.

White, a former aide to Forbes and also a Democrat, won 25 percent of the primary vote and has been endorsed by the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* newspaper. White served for seven years on the Cleveland City Council before he was appointed to the state senate in 1984 to complete an unexpired term of Sen. **MORRIS JACKSON.** In 1986 **White was elected to a full four-year senate term. White and Forbes are now battling to fill the seat of incumbent Mayor GEORGE V. VOINOVICH, who has served since 1981 and who plans to run for governor of Ohio in 1990.** Despite a large 45 percent black population, Cleveland has not had a black mayor since **CARL B. STOKES** was elected in 1967 and served one four-year term.

City Volunteer Corps: A Model for the Nation

New York City's Voluntary Program Proves That a Service Corps Can Provide Community Benefits While Uplifting Young Volunteers

by Toni D. Schmiegelow

On a rainy afternoon, a truck loaded with hundreds of cartons of new sports shirts arrives at The Clothing Bank in New York City. A flurry of activity begins as a dozen young people from the City Volunteer Corps (CVC) unload the 20,386 shirts into a storage center. The shirts are then counted and inventoried so they can be disseminated to some of the 370 homeless shelters, churches, and community organizations that assist the city's needy. These volunteers are an integral part of the Bank's effort to distribute hundreds of thousands of items of clothing each year. Says Winifred L. Brown, executive director of the Mayor's Voluntary Action Center, "If the CVCs weren't here, the program simply wouldn't go on."

That can also be said of the social outreach ministry at Saint Peter's Lutheran Church, located in midtown Manhattan. Each week Saint Peter's serves meals, with the help of CVC volunteers, to 1,000 homeless families, AIDS victims, and the elderly poor. CVC also provides extra hands to Goldwater Memorial Hospital on Roosevelt Island, where its volunteers repair wheelchairs and guide patients at the rehabilitation center in relearning how to speak, eat, dress themselves, and attain independent living skills.

The policy makers in Washington who are considering proposals for establishing a national service program [see the Special Social Policy Issue of *Focus*, published in September 1989] could learn a great deal from CVC, which New York City has been running successfully for five years. One of the nation's largest urban youth service corps, it combines full-time, team-based community service with continuing education for all participating volunteers, regardless of their prior educational achievement. The service projects these volunteers contribute to are carried out in conjunction with local non-profit and city governmental agencies.

Corps members volunteer for 12 months in exchange for a weekly stipend of $97, but they receive much more. In addition to classroom instruction, each volunteer learns invaluable lessons in responsibility, punctuality, discipline, and teamwork while earning high school or college credit. And each volunteer who completes six months of the program receives either a $5,000 college scholarship or a $2,500 cash award.

The CVC was created and funded by New York City in 1984 as a three-year demonstration project. It was designed to test whether a large-scale service corps of urban youths could deliver social and conservation services. In 1987, it was made a permanent program with an annual budget of $6 million. To date, more than 4,000 volunteers have been part of the CVC program, delivering more than 2.5 million hours of service to 250 community-based organizations and government agencies.

Each year about 600 young adults, ages 17 to 20, perform full-time volunteer work through the Corps, most of them black and Hispanic high school drop-outs from low-income families. CVC has enabled many of them to attain a GED (high school equivalency degree) or college credit. And of all those who enroll in CVC, 30 percent "graduate" from the program by completing 12 months of full-time service. Among nine major service corps examined in a 1986 Ford Foundation study carried out by the national research firm Public/Private Ventures, this graduation rate ranked as the best.

Meaningful Service

The volunteers work in teams of 12 to 15, each headed by a full-time CVC staff member. Team assignments are designed to expose each volunteer to other young people from different cultural backgrounds (about 68 percent of the volunteers are black and 26 percent are Hispanic, with roughly [illegible] numbers of males and females). Teams work exclu[illegible]n service projects for government agencies and non-profit organizations such as nursing homes, hospitals, and day-care centers. The services are all tangible ones that address real community needs.

Assignments rotate between physical labor and human service. The physical labor projects, usually three weeks long, include painting playground equipment, marking trails in public parks, planting community gardens, and carrying out neighborhood preservation work. The human service projects average three months in length and include distributing clothing to the homeless, tutoring public

(Continued on page 6)

Ms. Schmiegelow is director of Recruitment for the City Volunteer Corps.

CVC: A Model for the Nation

(Continued from page 5)

school students, and helping the physically and developmentally disabled learn the skills of independent living. The following are samples of a few CVC service activities:

- Each year, the entire City Volunteer Corps participates in at least two citywide food marches (once in the summer and once at Thanksgiving), distributing 25 pounds of food to each of 350,000 homebound elderly individuals.
- At Manhattan's Young Adult Institute, volunteers help 150 mentally retarded and developmentally disabled people by assisting teachers, therapists, and others in nutrition, vocational education, and recreational activities.
- Volunteers at the Queens-Jamaica Recreation & Learning Program serve meals to 100 children living in hotels for the homeless. Volunteers escort the children on field trips to museums and other special events and serve as teaching assistants in dance, cosmetology, arts and crafts, nature study, and physical conditioning classes.

Trained to Serve

The ongoing training and continuing-education components of CVC are as important as the services the volunteers perform. Service training begins before volunteers are placed in the field. Corps applicants are required to complete a seven-day residential training program at a rural retreat in upstate New York where they undergo physical fitness training and learn how to work with the elderly and handicapped. They also receive instruction in interpersonal communications, leadership, and discipline, and lessons in teamwork and building trust—social skills that are often missing from their relationships with peers from their own neighborhoods. Beyond this early instruction, volunteers are trained in new tasks each time they begin a service project and are counseled by the project's sponsors concerning career opportunities in the sponsor's field.

CVC recognizes the importance of formal education by making it a mandatory part of the CVC experience. Each volunteer is tested upon entry into the program, and the CVC then arranges for supplementary formal education—from basic literacy and GED to college-level courses—tailored to the volunteer's needs. Only one-fifth of the volunteers enter the program with high school diplomas, while the majority have a 10th grade education or less. Volunteers without high school diplomas (80 percent of all enrollees) must attend GED or Adult Basic Education classes, and participants with poor English skills are enrolled in English as a Second Language courses. As a result of the CVC education program, 77 percent of the volunteers who take the GED examination pass it, giving CVC the highest success rate among the city's remedial education programs.

High school graduates have the option of taking college preparatory classes, enrolling in free college courses, or receiving tuition reimbursement for one course per semester. All GED and college preparation instruction is conducted on City University of New York campuses. Twenty percent of the CVC graduates elect to take advantage of $5,000 scholarships after completing the program. This financial aid is significant in light of the fact that students in New York in public colleges incur an average debt of $8,700.

To Build a Better Citizen

All volunteers take courses on citizenship—including voter participation, the electoral process, and ethnic/cultural diversity—and on environmental protection. The young people work on teams with others from different boroughs, neighborhoods, ethnic groups, and socioeconomic backgrounds to foster volunteer diversity and social integration among the volunteers. Furthermore, CVC conducts a program in which high school and college students work alongside full-time volunteers, participating full-time during the summer and part-time during the school year. This broadens diversity by attracting more white, Asian, and middle-class youth into the Corps.

In the 1986 Ford Foundation study of the CVC, 92 percent of the project sponsors expressed satisfaction with the work provided by the volunteers. The study concluded that youth corps programs like CVC can be replicated in other cities and have great potential for meeting the service needs of urban centers while also serving as a tool for youth development.

CVC volunteers give much, but each takes a great deal away from the program as well. Cornell Pettaway, who earned his GED as a volunteer and who is now bound for the U.S. Air Force, summarizes the benefits of the program: "I have grown within myself and have learned to accept individuals for who they are. I have learned the true meaning of a team, which is love, trust, and respect." ■

Update on National Service Legislation

The staff of the House Education and Labor Committee is drafting a version of national service legislation that would support volunteer programs across the country. It would include some provisions contained in the National Community Service Act of 1989 (S. 1430) adopted by the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee last August 2 (see the Special Social Policy Issue of *Focus* published in September 1989). The House bill would reflect many of the youth development priorities of committee chair Augustus F. Hawkins (D-Calif.).

The measure is expected to revolve around service and conservation corps programs similar to those already operating in more than half the states. Strong emphasis would be placed on in-service training, compensatory education (when appropriate), and helping volunteers to acquire life skills. The goal is to turn high school drop-outs and at-risk youth, through the volunteer experience, into productive members of the labor force.

The volunteer programs envisaged would be designed to augment—not compete with—VISTA, the Peace Corps, and existing state and local programs. So far, however, the issues of whether or how in-service stipends and post-service education benefits would be used remain unresolved. The price tag is estimated at $100 to $150 million, compared with $300 million for the Senate bill.—THE EDITOR

Closed Doors on Capitol Hill

Black Senate Staffers Seek More Minority Representation in Policy-Level Positions

by Jackie Parker

This article is adapted from the September 14, 1989, testimony on the underrepresentation of minorities on congressional staffs given by the author before the U.S. Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs chaired by Senator John Glenn (D-Ohio). Her remarks are not intended to exclusively represent the views of the members of the U.S. Senate Black Legislative Staff Caucus.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for giving me an opportunity to share some concerns relative to the underrepresentation of African-Americans in policy-level positions in Congress, particularly in the Senate. My participation here today is not only an honor for our organization, it is historic. With no black members in the Senate, our caucus serves in this legislative body as a voice of black America on matters of national importance. We are not here as a result of any popular votes. Instead, we are a policy voice of black America by default. Ours is an awesome task.

Despite the fact that blacks represent more than 12 percent of the population, we have seen only one of our own elected to this prestigious body since the end of Reconstruction. We can find no pride in that historical note.

For many years, we have struggled with our role in the Senate. We have walked a delicate balance. On the one hand, serving as political and policy advisors in a capacity identical to that of our non-black staff colleagues. But on the other hand, having the responsibility to ensure that the Senators we serve are acutely aware of the impact of their decisions on the black community—even in instances where those members are not significantly influenced by a black voting population.

An increased presence of African-Americans in policy-level positions is critical. The unique life experiences that we bring to Congress is what sets us apart from our non-black colleagues, whose often narrower perspectives are those of upper-middle-class white males.

Unfortunately, our ranks are small. We account for only 64, or 2.4 percent, of the approximately 2,700 senior policy employees in the Senate. *There are no black administrative assistants and only two committee staff directors out of a total of 26; one deputy committee staff director, three subcommittee heads out of 95, and one legislative director out of 100. There is only one press secretary, and three deputy press secretaries on the personal staffs of the 100 members of the Senate, and none on the 121 Senate full committees and subcommittees.* It is sad that this is the highest number of black policy advisors in the history of the U.S. Senate.

Although nine percent of the policy positions in the U.S. House of Representatives are held by blacks, that figure drops to only three percent once the staffs of the 24 black members are excluded. In a June 12, 1987, letter to his colleagues in the House, urging that they hire more blacks, Congressman Mervyn M. Dymally, then chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, wrote, in part:

> "There are over 12,290 employees of the House of Representatives, yet fewer than three percent of the black staffers are hired by non-minority members ...while the pool of qualified blacks is significant, the record of hiring is disappointing. We have much to do in both houses to bring aboard competent staff with a wide range of expertise in positions of significant and substantive responsibility."

For the most part, the existing atmosphere does not encourage or promote the hiring of blacks as it does white professionals. Although more blacks have been employed in recent years, the proportion of blacks to whites has changed little even while staffs have mushroomed. The fact that this percentage has remained stagnant during the last 20 years becomes particularly glaring when one considers that the pool of qualified black applicants has expanded. Of the 400 resumes currently placed with our staff caucus, 53 percent have law degrees, 30 percent have graduate degrees, and 10 percent have previous hill experience.

The current system of hiring depends largely on an informal network of contacts. Those who are in the communications loop have an opportunity to vie for vacant positions; those who are not a part of that network rarely know an opening exists. Such informal networks can have the same devastating effects as an explicitly discriminatory system, since blacks are disproportionately out of the loop. It is especially troubling that many of those in Congress who have been unwavering proponents of civil rights legislation choose staff members through this informal network. As a result, they too have few black staffers.

Members of both houses of Congress must make a moral decision and a firm commitment to hire more blacks. Congress must go above and beyond the spirit of the antidiscrimination laws it has enacted for the rest of the country—and from which it has exempted itself. There is currently a closed-door process. This must change. ■

Ms. Parker has served, since 1979, as a legislative assistant to Sen. Carl Levin (D-Mich.). She previously was chief legislative assistant to the late Rep. James A. Burke (D-Mass.) and is currently chair of the U.S. Senate Black Legislative Staff Caucus.

Hope for the Homeless

(Continued from page 4)

Only the drumbeat of public opinion from the grassroots and continuing extensive coverage of homelessness by the media made the McKinney Act and the housing bill possible last year. The impact of a *Life* magazine article on a family living in a car or a TV special such as ABC's recent "God Bless the Child" is felt on Capitol Hill. Nobody at the White House seems to hear. Either the shredders are too loud or the snoring is too loud.

Homelessness is the manifestation of the Darwinian social policies of the present [Reagan] administration and its distorted priorities. These policies and priorities are now entrenched. Make no mistake about it. They will not yield easily.

The structure of the present budget is unacceptable. In 1980 the federal budget provided for $811 per person to national defense and $525 per person for low-income programs. By 1987, military expenditures had risen to $1,158 per person and per capita outlay for low-income programs had shrunk to $492 per person.

What did these defense dollars buy? An allen wrench for $9,606. An antenna motor pin for $7,417. A nut for $2,043. A bolt for $1,075. A flat washer for $387. A home could be provided for the total cost of these items!

The cost of a single trident nuclear submarine—$1.2 billion—would pay for housing for more than 100,000 people.

A land-and-space-based anti-missile defense system—the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)—will cost $770 billion, with an additional 10-year operating cost of $271 billion. Compare that with the top dollar figure of 10 to 20 billion dollars annually over the next decade to meet our housing needs. The strength of our country is in its people right here on earth—not in weapons that will spin into outer space at some indefinite date in the future.

The $148 billion interest on the national debt for one year would meet the projected housing needs of the entire nation for the next ten years.

What does it mean for me to say that the cost of ending homelessness is within our reach? It means that if we determine our priorities properly, and we exercise the political will, we can end homelessness in America. The power and strength in the United States can find decent shelter for every homeless man, woman, and child in the country.

These are the bearing walls of a lodging for the homeless, vulnerable people among us. Let us call them in from the cold and the pain and the loneliness.

Let us call the nation in from the cold—from the chill of bottom-line calculation, from greed and philosophies of survival of the fittest.

The struggle is in our history and our hearts. We can no longer allow petty selfishness and fear to confine the immensity of our compassion.

We are at our best
when we no longer endure injustice;
when we take the moral high road;
when we see ourselves as one family.
Then, we move ahead together and we prosper. ■

New JCPS Publication

The Charitable Appeals Fact Book: How Blacks and Whites Respond to Different Types of Fundraising Efforts, by Dr. Emmett D. Carson, 1989. ($8.50 paper, $21.50 cloth)

The first-ever publication to directly compare the giving behavior and attitudes of black and white Americans, this book is expected to be of tremendous value to fundraisers and to scholars in the field of philanthropy. Through 55 tables, the book identifies the fund-raising methods preferred by individual givers, and other data on their giving behavior, grouped by race and by socioeconomic characteristics. The figures show that blacks are more likely than whites to respond to philanthropic appeals by the clergy and that the percentage of the population which actively donates is the same for both races. The data also serve to refute the notion that middle-class blacks today largely ignore the less-fortunate members of their race. (To purchase copies, contact JCPS Press, c/o University Press of America (UPA), 4720 Boston Way, Lanham, MD 20706, 301-459-3366. Make checks payable to UPA.)

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Persistent Racism: A Challenge for the 21st Century

by Eddie N. Williams

Editor's Note: This month's "Perspective" is adapted from an address by the Joint Center's president at a conference on "A Century of Civil Rights Struggle," sponsored by the University of Wisconsin-Madison on November 3, 1989.

The civil rights struggle in America has led to many victories on many battlefields. Yet racism persists. It persists right alongside significant, sometimes dramatic, progress in race relations. The pervasive and insidious nature of racism demands a forceful, comprehensive response on many fronts, beginning with government at all levels. Our experience tells us that the battle requires stable long-term commitments by the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government. In the past, the combined efforts of these authorities have been effective in enforcing anti-discrimination laws and in trying to create new norms of interracial conduct. Unfortunately, during the Reagan administration the federal government largely abandoned its progressive national leadership role.

The Congress, furthermore, has been extremely slow in passing legislation aimed at rooting out the remaining vestiges of racism and at enhancing opportunities for the disadvantaged. We need a recommitted Congress in the front ranks of the struggle to pursue aggressively the goal of creating a society in which race is not an obstacle to achievement. Of course, future efforts toward reaching this goal will also require expanding economic opportunities for black Americans. In fact, eliminating the economic-opportunity gap between blacks and whites is one of the most critical keys to success in the battle against racism.

Another critical key to the success of the struggle is the presidency. The post-war history of race relations clearly illustrates the enormous scope and impact of the presidency as a force for social change. In setting the national policy-agenda, in mobilizing Congress and public opinion, and in making judicial appointments, many presidents have used their offices to pursue the national goal of justice and equality.

This was not true of President Reagan. He sought to dismantle and eliminate affirmative action and effective social programs and, in the process, he wreaked enough havoc to damage race relations across the country. The Reaganized Supreme Court, moving with alarming aggressiveness this year, has already issued at least five decisions that have the effect of turning back the civil rights clock and brushing aside hard-won victories. In four cases the Court seriously diminished the rights of minority and women workers by making it far more difficult and costly for them to pursue and win employment discrimination lawsuits under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and other statutes. Another decision threatens to undermine or eliminate minority business set-aside programs in state and local government procurement.

Needed: More Sophisticated Activism

Since purposeful and persistent political action is the best way to ensure that government plays a vigorous leadership role in ending racism, the improvement of race relations depends on who we elect to public office and what we, the electorate, demand. There is abundant evidence of this vital link between political action and the pace of change.

As the barriers to black voting disappeared in the South, Southern politicians gradually became attentive and

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responsive to the preferences of blacks. Today, on a number of civil rights issues, many Southern legislators are hardly distinguishable from their colleagues outside the South. The battle over the confirmation of Judge Robert Bork, a Reagan nominee to the Supreme Court, illustrated the power of electoral strength in moving the Congress. It also underscored the power of energized coalitions, for it took the combined efforts of blacks, Jews, Hispanics, organized labor, women, and others to deny Bork Senate confirmation.

The improvement of race relations depends on who we elect to public office and what we, the electorate, demand.

In the future, black political activism must become even more sophisticated in at least three areas: political partisanship, coalition building, and voter participation. As the black vote increases in size and influence, it is becoming the subject of intense scrutiny. Its virtual monolithic support of Democratic presidential candidates in recent years is hotly debated in both the Democratic and Republican parties. Although partisanship is a personal matter, it is increasingly clear that black political influence nationwide might be significantly enhanced in the years to come if black voters would achieve a more balanced partisan alignment.

This debatable proposition is advanced in the face of many arguments about the GOP's indifference to black Americans. We must recall, however, that in the 19th century and through the 1920s, the Democratic party was once considered the party of black oppression and the Republican party as the force of liberation. It was in the 1930s that black Americans and the Democratic party struck a partnership based on mutual self-interest.

Whether in the political arena or in other areas, building and maintaining coalitions based on furthering our enlightened self-interests must become a more prominent part of black political strategy. This means strengthening ties with groups that have been historic allies. It also means forging new links, which are mutually beneficial, with others who share our goals on specific policy issues, whether they are in the Republican party or in the corporate sector.

Another part of our political strategy must be to ensure that blacks register and vote in unprecedented numbers to help elect responsive candidates at all levels of government. In too many instances, black political participation has been disappointingly low. By squandering the principal tool of our political empowerment—the ballot—we leave the advancement of our interests to others.

Half Empty or Half Full?

In pursuit of these strategies—governmental intervention and political action—black Americans have an extraordinary role to play because they bear a disproportionately large share of the burden of racism. That burden is a grim history of oppression and spirit-numbing humiliation and growing evidence of societal indifference.

The high cost of racism to the entire country does not need recounting here. It is worth emphasizing, however, how debilitating a force it is. Some blacks are scarred so deeply by it that they use racism—often real but sometimes imagined—as a rationalization for their failures, even their failure to try to improve their lot. As a consequence, a high toll is paid by blacks, to be sure, but it is a toll that is ultimately paid by society as a whole because every individual failure robs this nation of its vital human resources.

To be sure, we must recognize the external obstacles to black progress when they are present. Some of these obstacles, such as institutional racism, remain formidable. Yet, when one considers the tragedy of the erosion of the self-confidence of so many blacks, one wonders if we ourselves may be contributing to that tragedy. We must question the validity of the old tactic by which blacks emphasize their deficits over their gains, their needs over their achievements, their complaints over their celebrations—a tactic which always portrays our glass as half empty rather than half full. When we confront our youth with negative images, regardless of our intentions, do we help undermine their self-confidence?

What do we have to lose by being positive, by being affirmative, by exuding self-confidence, even as we seek to redress grievances? One answer is that we don't want white folks to know just how much we have accomplished. Perhaps we fear that they might not support our cause any longer. How absurd and ironic. Not only do they know what we have accomplished and what we have failed to accomplish, but some of their disillusionment with the struggle to improve race relations may well have resulted from our own failure to acknowledge our achievements fully. To those whites who have labored to improve race relations, the constant accentuation of the negative may leave them thinking that their past support was in vain.

There is clearly an urgent need to rethink some of our tactics to achieve justice and equality. As we prepare to enter the last decade of this century, we need to recognize our accomplishments and build on them with pride. We need to take maximum advantage of new opportunities and resources. We need to adapt our struggle to the changing times and circumstances.

One is reminded of the poem "The Present Crisis," by the New England poet James Russell Lowell:

> "New occasions teach new duties;
> Time makes ancient good uncouth;
> They must upward still and onward
> Who would keep abreast of truth."

Yes, the civil rights struggle in America has led to many victories on many battlefields. But we must fight on in our continuing quest for justice and equality, and we must wage a relentless battle against the divisive and odious force of racism. ■

Lightning Strikes Twice

Wilder and Dinkins Win Historic Election Victories by Making Mainstream Appeals and Countering Negative Campaign Tactics

by Cheryl Miller

History was made twice on November 7, 1989. Lightning struck in Virginia, where Lieutenant Governor L. Douglas Wilder emerged as the nation's first elected black governor, and again in New York City—the largest and possibly the most ethnically diverse of all American cities—where Manhattan Borough President David N. Dinkins became the first black to take the mayoral seat. Yet the landmark victories of these two Democrats were only the most visible of several ground-breaking elections last November. Black candidates were also elected mayors of three other major cities populated by majority-white constituencies: New Haven, Connecticut; Durham, North Carolina; and, Seattle, Washington. (See *Across the Nation* in this issue.)

The Wilder and Dinkins victories greatly expand the political horizon for blacks holding office and for those with political ambitions, shattering old definitions of what is possible. Posts formerly considered out of the reach of non-white candidates because they required seeking the support of predominantly white electorates may now be viewed differently. By the early 1980s, blacks had saturated practically all elective positions available in majority black jurisdictions. Since then, while the number of black officials has continued to grow, the rate of growth has slowed. The election victories this past November, therefore, may suggest the direction many black candidates must take if they are to claim seats traditionally not won by blacks.

In their political experience and their coalition approach, Wilder and Dinkins represent a growing trend among black politicians. An increasing number of them are becoming viable candidates for top positions by climbing the conventional political ladder. For Dinkins and Wilder, certainly, a strong record of government service has assured progressively higher offices.

The American electorate is not yet colorblind, as a number of surveys attest too well. For example, pre-election polls at various times placed Wilder ahead of his opponent by up to 15 percentage points. Dinkins was said to lead his opponent in voter favor by up to 21 points in pre-election and exit polls. Yet both candidates won by the slimmest of margins. A growing number of black candidates who have run deracialized campaigns and have appealed to mainstream voters, however, have shown that they can capture enough white votes to win major elections even where black voters are in the minority. This mainstream campaigning has been used successfully by five-term Mayor Tom Bradley of Los Angeles and by Congressmen Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.) and Alan Wheat (D-MO). And it may also be used by Andrew Young, who plans to run next year for governor of Georgia.

Governing the Birthplace of Slavery

The lessons Wilder learned about coalition building during his 19 years in Virginia politics—as state senator from 1970 to 1986 and as lieutenant governor since 1986—were evident in his gubernatorial campaign. A native Virginian, Wilder ran on a "new mainstream" theme, deliberately appealing to a cross-section of the electorate. Given the characteristics of Virginia, the birthplace of American slavery, this strategy was only logical. Virginia is known for its Southern conservative culture and its dominance of registered Republicans over Democrats. Blacks are only 17 percent of its total population.

Wilder's election not only represents a major departure for a Southern state, it broadens the political possibilities for blacks with aspirations to higher office throughout the nation. "This victory in the heart of the old Confederacy proves that by their stance on issues and choice of campaign styles, blacks can obtain high office in predominantly white electoral jurisdictions elsewhere," says Richard Shingles, a visiting scholar at the Joint Center from Virginia Polytechnical Institute. "To the extent he is successful as governor, Doug Wilder will bring closer the day when race will no longer be a significant factor in American politics."

Wilder's own roots are in the civil rights movement and the passage of civil rights legislation. Yet, in the campaign, the lieutenant governor deemphasized race as an issue, running neither on "black issues" nor on civil rights activism. His points of emphasis were inclusiveness, abortion rights, and continuity of leadership. At the same time, Wilder did not abandon his black voter base; during the final months of the race he visited up to seven black churches each Sunday.

Wilder defeated former state attorney general J. Marshall Coleman, a Republican, by a narrow margin: 50.1 percent to 49.9 percent. (Coleman has demanded a recount of the election he lost by under 7,000 votes—but most political observers expect the results to remain unchanged.)

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POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

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U.S. Courts Abandon Discrimination Claimants

The legacy of RONALD REAGAN'S judicial appointments is being painfully felt as U.S. courts have dismissed 96 pending cases of employment discrimination based on the Supreme Court's *Patterson v. McLean Credit Union* ruling last June, according to a recently released study by the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc. In its 5-to-4 *Patterson* decision, the Supreme Court severely limited the scope of Section 1981 of Title 42 of the U.S. Code enacted by Congress in 1866. Before the June 15 ruling, courts routinely granted claimants relief from on-the-job racial harassment under Section 1981, which grants to all persons "the same right to make and enforce contracts...as enjoyed by white citizens." But in *Patterson,* a High Court majority decided that the statute only applied to the "making" of contracts and so could not be used to redress harassment occurring after an employment contract had been signed.

The Legal Defense Fund reports that between June 15 and November 1, judges dismissed 96 claims of discrimination in 50 separate cases, either on their own initiative or at the request of defendants. Among the cases dismissed:

- **31 claims of racial discrimination in firing**
- **22 claims of racial harassment**
- **16 claims of discrimination in promotions or transfers**
- **8 claims of retaliation**
- **6 claims of discriminatory demotions.**

Civil rights advocates are especially concerned that many of the dismissed claims cannot be litigated later under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, since Title VII only applies to employment discrimination and does not cover harassment or retaliation. Many claimants, they fear, will be left with no further options of redress through the courts.

Legislators on Capitol Hill are drafting bills to overturn *Patterson* and other devastating High Court rulings handed down this year that have weakened citizens' legal protection from discrimination. Meanwhile, the Bush administration's position is that these rulings have *not* made it more difficult for victims of discrimination to seek legal redress. That stance has prompted **ERIC SCHNAPPER,** the principal author of the Legal Defense Fund study, to voice his concern that "the Justice Department isn't reading American court decisions any more but may be reading decisions from the Transvaal [in South Africa]."

Run-off Is Scheduled to Fill Mickey Leland's Seat

Texas State Senator CRAIG WASHINGTON and Houston City Councilman ANTHONY HALL, both black Democrats, were the top vote-getters in a bitterly contested special November 7 nonpartisan election in

Houston to fill the late MICKEY LELAND's 18th Congressional District seat. Washington garnered 41 percent of the vote, and Hall 34 percent. There were nine other candidates in the contest. The seat became vacant when Leland, a six-term congressman, was killed in an August plane crash in Ethiopia while on a famine-relief mission.

Both Hall and Washington are attorneys and have similar records of public service. Washington served in the Texas House of Representatives from 1973 to 1983 prior to his election to the state senate in 1983. In the senate he has advocated minority business set-asides and increased minority representation on state boards and commissions. Washington had been endorsed by Councilman **RODNEY ELLIS**, a former congressional aide and close friend of Leland's. Many local political observers were surprised when Ellis did not run for the post himself; he has indicated, however, that he is "more interested in being mayor of Houston at some future date than in running for Congress."

Hall served in the Texas House of Representatives from 1973 to 1977 and ran unsuccessfully against Leland for the 18th district seat in the 1978 Democratic primary election. He has served on the city council since 1979 and in 1983 became the first black council member to win an at-large seat in Houston. Hall is also a proponent of set-aside programs for minorities and women and has drafted anti-apartheid ordinances that have been adopted by the Houston City Council. A run-off election between Washington and Hall will be held on December 9, 1989.

The 18th district, which is 39 percent black, 27 percent Hispanic, and 34 percent white, includes poor and middle-income black neighborhoods, Latino barrios, and wealthy, conservative white sections. In the aftermath of the mid-1980s oil bust, some of the city's commercial office towers are still vacant, a symbol of the area's lingering economic troubles. But the most pressing problems the next member of Congress must face in the urban district's poorer communities are similar to those confronting other inner cities: unemployment, drugs, and crime.

On another front, poetic justice reigned: BEVERLY CLARK, a practically unknown black university employee, unseated four-term white Houston City Councilman JIM WESTMORELAND, who said during a conversation with reporters that the city's airport should be renamed "Nigger International" instead of being renamed after Mickey Leland, as Rodney Ellis had proposed. Clark, who became the first black woman on the council, won nearly 55 percent of the vote with practically unanimous support from an outraged black community.

Congress Extends Set-Aside Law

Just before recessing for the year, Congress passed an amendment sponsored by Rep. NICHOLAS MAVROULES (D-Mass.) to extend, until FY 1993, the Department of Defense's five-percent minority business set-aside program. Mavroules had the support of black members of Congress who have objected to the Defense Department's failure to comply with the congressionally mandated minority business development program. The original defense set-aside measure, Section 1207 of defense bill PL-99-661, had been sponsored by black representatives **JOHN CONYERS** (D-Mich.) and **GUS SAVAGE** (D-Ill.) and enacted by Congress in 1986. The amendment extending Section 1207 was attached to the $305.5 billion omnibus defense authorization bill (H.R. 2461). Section 1207 has required the Pentagon to set aside five percent of its contracts (with an estimated value of $8 billion per year) for minority businesses. Without the Mavroules amendment, the set-aside provisions would have expired next year on September 30.

Mavroules, who chairs the House Armed Services Subcommittee on Investigations, asserts that enforcement of Section 1207 has been weak from the beginning. "The Pentagon had done nothing to implement the set-aside program for 18 months after it was established," he notes, adding that "at this point, minority participation in Defense contracts is only up to 2.8 percent." A June 1989 Government Accounting Office report, requested by black Congresswoman CARDISS COLLINS (D-Ill.), details the Pentagon's contracting relationship with minority-owned media and advertising companies. The report found, among other problems, that the defense department distorted the dollar value of contracts it awarded to minority firms and exaggerated the participation rate by overcounting minority-owned advertisers. Collins, chair of the Subcommittee on Government Activities and Transportation of the House Government Operations Committee, called for the report after receiving complaints from minority advertising agencies and broadcasters.

Mavroules, Collins, and other members of the Congressional Black Caucus met several times with the CEOs of major defense contractors, including Martin-Marietta, Hughes Aircraft, and Rockwell International, to devise ways to increase subcontracts awarded by such contractors to minority firms. Executives of the three above-named corporations make up the Steering Committee on Small Disadvantaged Business of the Washington, D.C.-based Aerospace Industries Association. **This association has contracted with Conwal, Inc., a Hispanic-owned computer consulting firm in Falls Church, Virginia, to create a database of all the minority firms that contract with its member corporations. The association has also contracted with Florida A & M University's School of Busi-**

ness and Industry to help formulate strategies for expanding defense contractors' work with minority businesses. Mavroules, who believes that the set-aside program is in the public interest, says "we must broaden the nation's industrial base by mainstreaming America's many talented minority entrepreneurs."

Preserving Martin Luther King's Good Name

Responding to a newly released book by former civil rights activist Rev. RALPH DAVID ABERNATHY, titled *And the Walls Came Tumbling Down,* 28 nationally prominent black leaders, including major figures in the civil rights struggle, members of Congress, ministers, and businessmen, sent a telegram to Abernathy on October 8 urging him to disavow certain passages of the book which discuss MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. The telegram reads in part:

"We take particular exception to your personal reconstruction on Martin's last hours on this earth. . . . There are words in this book, particularly in the Memphis section, that are so foreign to your life and to your statements of the last 20 years that we are driven to the conclusion that they were put into your mouth by others who needed a sensational story . . . . we urge you to repudiate immediately those sections that contradict the hundreds of statements and speeches you have made about Martin in the last 20 years."

On October 12, after hearing no clear response from Abernathy, the group issued a public statement to the press, including this assessment:

"The book is riddled with gross inaccuracies and painful distortions. To cite only one example, at least four persons who were in Memphis on April 3-4, 1968—Mayor ANDREW YOUNG, the Reverend JESSE JACKSON, BENJAMIN HOOKS, and BERNARD LEE [all but Lee were signatories to this letter]—have separately reported that they have sharply different memories of Dr. King's last night....There are, in our view, clear indications that sentences and whole sections were written and edited by others."

In the October 12 statement, the group cites Abernathy's "two massive strokes that resulted in major brain surgery" and suggests that people "with ulterior motives" have "apparently tak[en] advantage of this situation to attack not only Dr. King but also the dream he represented." The telegram and public statement were signed by the following:

Bishop John H. Adams
Lerone Bennett
Robert Brown
John Cox
Rep. Ron Dellums
Rep. Walter Fauntroy
Rep. Floyd Flake
Rep. William Gray
Dick Gregory
Dorothy Height
Jesse Hill, Jr.
Rev. Benjamin Hooks
Carole Hoover
Rev. Jesse Jackson
Robert Johnson
Vernon Jordon
Tom Kilgore
Rep. John Lewis
Rev. Joseph Lowery
Parren Mitchell
Rev. Otis Moss
Rev. Joseph L. Roberts
Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth
Rev. Gardner Taylor
C. Delores Tucker
Rep. Alan Wheat
Mayor Andrew Young
Rev. McKinley Young

Senate Removes Judge Alcee Hastings From Federal Bench

Judge ALCEE HASTINGS of Florida was removed from his federal judge seat by the U.S. Senate on October 20, following a two-day impeachment trial. The Senate, voting 69 to 26, found Hastings guilty of conspiracy to accept a bribe.

Hastings, the first black federal district judge in Florida, had been appointed to the bench by President **JIMMY CARTER** in 1979. He became the sixth federal judge in U.S. history to be found guilty of charges by members of the U.S. Senate and be removed from office. Although some of Hasting's supporters have suggested that the charges against him were based on racism, Hastings himself denied that assertion. **He has stated, nevertheless, that because he was acquitted in his federal jury trial in 1983, the impeachment violates U.S. law against double jeopardy. Federal courts have chosen to ignore his claims.**

A two-thirds Senate majority is required to remove a federal official, who must first be impeached (indicted) by the U.S. House of Representatives. In the fall of 1988, the House of Representatives voted 413 to 3 to impeach Hastings on 17 charges. The matter was then sent to the Senate for trial. A special Senate committee heard testimony in the case from July 10 to August 3 of this year.

Across the Nation

CONNECTICUT: State Senator JOHN DANIELS was elected New Haven's first black mayor on November 7 when he beat Republican Alderwoman ROBERTA POOLEY by nearly a two-to-one margin in that city's mayoral election. A five-term state senator, Daniels won the Democratic primary on September 14 by defeating JOHN DE STEPHANO, JR., the party-endorsed candidate, with 59 percent of the vote. It was the first time that a candidate backed by the Italian-American controlled Democratic machine lost a primary in 14 years.

Since blacks constitute only 32 percent of New Haven's population of 126,109, it was essential for Daniels to garner support from nonblack voters. To broaden his base, Daniels campaigned on the platform of "inclusion," promising to bring together the city's diverse neighborhoods. He gained early backing from the Latino community and a multiracial coalition of church ministers, and quickly locked up the 1st Ward, know as the "Yale Ward" because it is made up almost entirely of students and university employees.

Daniels served for 14 years on the New Haven Board of Aldermen before being elected a state senator in 1980. In addition to his tenure as alderman and state senator, Daniels has a wealth of experience in addressing urban problems. **He has served as a National Urban Fellow, as a staff member of the White House Task Force on Small Towns, and as special assistant to the executive director of the Joint Center for Political Studies.**

The city of New Haven now joins Hartford as the second major Connecticut municipality with a black mayor. CARRIE SAXON PERRY (D), the incumbent black female mayor of Hartford, won reelection to a second two-year term this November by defeating Republican **ROSEMARY CARDWELL**, a nurse and health-care professional, with 71 percent of the vote. Blacks make up 34 percent of Hartford's population of approximately 136,000.

MICHIGAN: Democratic Mayor COLEMAN YOUNG was reelected in Detroit, claiming his fifth consecutive mayoral victory at the polls. Challenged for the second time by black accounting firm executive TOM BARROW, also a Democrat, Young's victory was almost a carbon copy of his successful 1985 mayoral race with Barrow who then claimed 39 percent of the vote. This time he claimed about 44 percent. Young was widely considered to be more vulnerable to an upset by Barrow this year because of unfavorable media reports on the 71-year-old mayor's personal life, including a well publicized paternity suit.

Coleman and Barrow survived a crowded and fiercely contested nonpartisan primary of 15 candidates, including **JOHN CONYERS JR.**, one of Detroit's two black congressmen. Barrow was endorsed by both of the city's daily newspapers, the *Detroit News* and *Detroit Free Press*, but he was outspent by Young, who had a war chest of over $5 million and was backed by Jesse Jackson. Ironically, Young had vigorously opposed Jackson's presidential bids in 1984 and 1988.

NORTH CAROLINA: CHESTER JENKINS will become the first black mayor of Durham when he takes office on December 31, 1989. Jenkins, a senior marketing analyst with the GTE South telephone company, is a two-term city councilmember who has served as mayor *pro tempore* for the last six years.

With a strong base of support among the city's blacks, who make up 47 percent of Durham's population of 101,000, Jenkins was pushed over the top in the November 7 mayoral election by a powerful black-white coalition. The Durham Committee on the Affairs of Black People and progressive white organizations such as the People's Alliance and the Durham Voters Alliance mobilized support on his behalf.

The efforts of these groups were crucial since the race turned out to be a struggle between progressive and right-wing forces. Jenkins' opponent was retired businessman NELSON STRAWBRIDGE, a conservative Democrat who headed "Democrats for Helms" during ultra-conservative Senator JESSE HELMS' successful reelection bid in 1984. Strawbridge was backed by Friends of Durham, a well-organized conservative group that had, in earlier campaigns, successfully employed door-to-door canvassing as well as sophisticated mailing and telephone campaign techniques. Jenkins' supporters responded in kind, assuring him victory. Jenkins won 53 percent of the vote in the highest turnout (43 percent) for a municipal election in Durham in 10 years.

OHIO: Democratic State Senator MICHAEL WHITE was elected mayor of Cleveland, making him the first black since CARL STOKES held the post from 1967 to 1971. After an acrimonious campaign, White scored an upset victory on November 7 over black City Council President GEORGE FORBES, who had finished first in the city's October 3 nonpartisan primary.

White, who is 38 years old, displayed political ambitions as early as his college days, when he was the first black student body president of Ohio State University. A former aide of Forbes', White won by a vote of 56 percent to 44 percent in a city that is 45 percent black. Campaigning against busing and calling for a massive hiring of 250 additional city police officers, White received strong support from Cleveland's predominantly white West Side. He also was endorsed by the city's daily newspaper, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, which wrote that he was "a candidate capable of healing the wounds of racial and regional politics."

Forbes, an attorney with 26 years on the city council (including 16 years as council president), had the support of business and labor groups and popular incumbent Republican Mayor **GEORGE VOINOVICH**, who is stepping down to run for governor. Forbes received 70 percent of the vote from Cleveland's East Side, which is mainly black. He also received the endorsement of the American Nationalities Movement, an association of 35 white ethnic organizations. Nevertheless, this support was not enough to secure a victory for Forbes, whom many whites perceive as quick-tempered and unable to mend Cleveland's racial divisiveness.

WASHINGTON: In the Pacific Northwest, Seattle, a city of 500,000 with a black population of about 10 percent, elected its first black mayor on November 7. Democratic City Councilman **NORMAN RICE** received 54 percent of the vote in defeating Republican City Attorney **DOUGLAS JEWETT**. Although Jewett lost, an initiative he coauthored opposing citywide school busing was narrowly adopted by the voters. **The "Save Our Schools" initiative called for giving city funds to the independently-run Seattle School District if it ended its program of school desegregation through busing. Since Seattle's busing plan was initiated in 1978, public school enrollment has dropped by 20,000 students, bringing the total to 40,000. Rice campaigned in the primary against the initiative, but during the general election he changed his position and offered a plan to end busing over a four-year period.**

The November election was a run-off between Rice and Jewett, who had been the top vote-getters in the 13-candidate nonpartisan September 19 primary. Rice, a former broadcaster and banker who has been a member of the Seattle City Council since 1978, ran unsuccessfully for mayor in 1985 and for Congress in 1988. He benefitted from an endorsement by the city's popular incumbent Mayor **CHARLES ROYER**, who is retiring after three terms.

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The election was marked by an extremely heavy voter turnout (65 percent) which was the highest ever for a non-Presidential election in Virginia. According to Larry Sabato of the University of Virginia, this high turnout, especially among blacks, combined with a substantial lead in urban areas, proved to be "the salvation of Doug Wilder. He got his vote out and that did it." In total, Wilder received 94 percent of the black vote and 40 percent of the white vote. The close competition for supporters came with an enormous price tag—the contest ranks as the most expensive in Virginia's history, with Wilder spending $7 million to Coleman's $10 million.

Posts formerly considered out of the reach of non-white candidates because they required seeking the support of predominantly white electorates may now be viewed differently.

Wilder's platform advocated increased aid for cities to fight drugs and the improvement of the state's transportation networks, but its most audible call was for the preservation of women's reproductive rights. Wilder handled this explosive subject deftly, exposing Coleman's anti-abortion sentiments in an early televised debate. He then framed his own pro-choice position in conservative, libertarian terms, arguing that government does not have the right to intrude into so personal a decision as reproductive choice. This position was communicated through a battery of television ads put together by media consultant Frank Greer. In one of them, Wilder's backdrop was an American flag and Thomas Jefferson's Monticello. His pro-choice position on abortion gave Wilder the crossover support he needed from white female Republicans. Indeed, his abortion stance may have accounted for the 18 percent of the Republican vote he snatched from his GOP opponent.

Wilder, who takes office on January 13, 1990, will be the nation's first black governor since 1873, when Pinckney S. Pinchback, a former slave and officer in the Union Army, was appointed to replace elected governor Henry Clay Warmoth of Louisiana who was being impeached. Pinchback served the 43 days remaining in Warmoth's term.

Among the responsibilities and privileges awaiting Wilder as he enters the statehouse will be the considerable influence—shared with the Democratically-controlled legislature—he will wield in developing a reapportionment plan following the 1990 census. This is particularly significant since the state is projected to gain a Congressional seat after the census count is completed.

Moderation Wins in the Bruised Big Apple

After campaigning on a theme of cooperation and optimism in solving New York City's problems, David Dinkins was elected with the most diverse support of any mayoral candidate in the city's history. Blacks, Hispanics, progressive whites, labor unions, and pro-choice women came together to make Dinkins the city's first black mayor. He began his career as an attorney, served as a state assemblyman (1966-72), president of the New York City Board of Elections (1972-73), and city clerk (1975-85). After three bids for the post he was elected in 1985 as Manhattan borough president, the second most powerful position in the city. As borough president, Dinkins has represented 1.5 million people and been a member of the powerful New York Board of Estimates, which administers the city's budget. On January 1, 1990, he will succeed controversial three-term incumbent Mayor Edward Koch.

Dinkins won the November election by a 50 percent to 48 percent margin over Rudolph Giuliani, U.S. attorney for the Southern District of New York since 1983, who ran on a Republican-Liberal ticket. As in the Virginia election, voter turnout, at 55 percent overall, was high for a non-presidential New York City election. In many black precincts it exceeded 65 percent.

The main message of Dinkins' campaign was that he would work to heal the wounds of a city scored by racial tension. (In two New York neighborhoods—Howard Beach and Bensonhurst—black youths were killed by white mobs in separate, racially motivated attacks.)

Dinkins had used the same mild tone and moderate approach to defeat the abrasive Mayor Koch in September's Democratic primary as he used to defeat Giuliani in November. According to Rep. Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.), Dinkins' election "was a victory of hope over fear, of optimism over desperation. It proved that New Yorkers can overcome trials and difficulties and pull together...."

To win, Dinkins had to forge a coalition of the city's many ethnic and racial groups, since blacks make up only 25 percent of the population. He received 91 percent of the black vote, 65 percent of the Hispanic vote, and 27 percent of the white vote (including 35 percent of the Jewish vote). Dinkins also had considerable support in his campaign from the New York City Central Labor Council and its 500 local member unions. The Council represents 1.2 million New York workers.

Dinkins, like many other blacks who have been elected in recent years to run major U.S. cities, will have too few resources to address the tremendous problems he inherits. New York City is projected to have a $1 billion deficit by the end of the 1990 fiscal year next June. The AIDS epidemic, a decaying infrastructure, and high rates of homelessness and drug-related crime also plague the city. However, according to Basil Wilson, associate professor of African American Studies at New York's John Jay College of Criminal Justice, because Dinkins "kept the high road" in the campaign "he is in a much better position to bring the city together...heal some of the wounds that exist in the body politic."

Governing New York, a city of more than seven million people, is an immense challenge for any mayor. And the newly revised city charter, which redistributes some of the power to administer the city's $25 billion budget from the Board of Estimates to the mayor's office, now places even more of the burden to resolve New York's fiscal woes on Dinkins' shoulders. ■

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JCPS Film Producer and Youth Are Honored

Mark Lloyd, Joint Center associate director of communications, was the recipient of a CINE Golden Eagle award in December for his work as producer of the JCPS/WETA documentary, *Turning It Around: Urban Teens in Crisis*. The documentary was chosen by CINE (the Council on International Nontheatrical Events) to represent the best of American film-making at international film festivals.

Turning It Around looks at how four young people coped with challenges commonly confronting youths of today's urban communities. It also examines programs designed to help young people overcome or avoid these problems. Premiered by the Joint Center on Capitol Hill on June 1, the film was produced in cooperation with WETA-TV (Channel 26), Washington, D.C.'s public broadcasting affiliate. It aired on Channel 26 on June 6 and 11.

The documentary, which has been shown at conferences throughout the country, has also helped the youths featured in the film, to "turn their lives around." While Lloyd and Charles Riley, one of the youths featured in the film, presented the documentary in November at the seventh annual conference of the Southern Education Foundation in Atlanta, foundation president Eldridge W. McMillan, after hearing that Charles might not be able to afford to attend college, in a surprise announcement awarded him a four-year college scholarship.

At the age of 14, Charles, a school drop-out, was selling cocaine on the streets of Philadelphia. After repeated run-ins with the local police, he decided to enter the Potomac Job Corps Center in Washington, D.C. Gradually he began to turn his life around, mastering the skills to become a home health aide. Charles graduated from the Job Corps in the spring of 1989 and is now working as a visiting nurse in Philadelphia. He hopes to become a doctor.

Joint Center Releases Two New Publications

Minorities and Privatization: Economic Mobility At Risk, by Robert Suggs, 1989. ($12.50 paper, $25.00 cloth)

The privatization of public services is a growing practice among U.S. municipalities intent on improving efficiency and saving taxpayers' money. In this book, Robert Suggs examines how a variety of privatization schemes carried out between 1981 and 1984 in 10 selected cities affected black and Hispanic residents, workers, and businesses.

Although Suggs finds that privatization results in little loss of employment to minorities in a community, it severely diminishes the quality of jobs available to them. Suggs also finds that minority-owned businesses rarely benefit from the small boost privatization gives the rest of the market economy.

One of Suggs' recommendations is that municipalities require firms which benefit from privatization to give priority in hiring to displaced municipal workers and establish minority procurement programs outside of regular municipal purchasing channels.

A former senior research associate at the Joint Center, Robert Suggs currently teaches at the Arizona State University College of Law.

Black Elected Officials: A National Roster, by the JCPS Office of Research, 1989. ($29.50 paper, $43.50 cloth)

The number of black elected officials in the nation increased by 5.8 percent during 1988 for a total of 7,226, according to the recently released 1989 edition of *Black Elected Officials: A National Roster*. The new total of BEOs represents a significant jump over preceding years (gains were 4.0 and 2.2 percent for 1986 and 1987 respectively) making this the first time since 1985 that the rate of increase has not declined.

The 1989 *Roster*, like earlier editions, identifies black elected officials at all levels of government and includes legislative officeholders, mayors, and city councilmembers, as well as law enforcement judicial, and educational officials. The mailing address and term of office are given for each entry, while tables and graphs allow for quick summary reference

To purchase these publications, write to the Order Department, Joint Center for Political Studies Press, 4720 Boston Way, Lanham, MD 20706; or call 301-459-3366. Make checks payable to UPA, Inc.

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America's First Elected Black Governor Envisions a Crime-Free Future With Accessible Education and Affordable Housing

Court Ruling Favors Minority Set-Asides

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Registration Reform Can Expand the Electorate

As we approach the 25th Anniversary of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, celebrate the release of Nelson Mandela in South Africa, and salute the sweep of democracy through central and Eastern Europe, it is fitting that our own Congress is now considering major reforms to make voter registration more accessible to all Americans. On February 6, 1990, the U.S. House of Representatives passed H.R. 2190, the National Voter Registration Act, with bipartisan support, by a comfortable margin of 289 to 132. A similar bill, S. 874, is pending in the U.S. Senate.

The House bill, affecting only federal elections, contains a "motor voter" provision that allows automatic voter registration when individuals apply for or renew their drivers' licenses. It also would make registration by mail (currently allowed in only half the states) possible in all states and would provide for agency-based registration. The bill would prohibit a practice now allowed in most states, namely purging the rolls of citizens who did not vote in the prior general election. However, states would be required every four years to transfer the names of voters with unverified or inaccurate addresses to an inactive list (but not completely off the rolls).

Proponents of reform argue that many registration systems have served as barriers to voter participation. They maintain that the reforms contained in H.R. 2190 would result in a significant rise in registration rates nationally.

The bill's opponents are concerned about the additional administrative costs of changing current state systems to accommodate new federal procedures. They also cite expanded bureaucracy, the infringement of states' rights to regulate the voting process, and the potential for fraud if the reforms are adopted. But supporters of the bill assert that several states have already instituted efficient, cost-effective registration procedures like those contained in H.R. 2190 with no reported growth in voter fraud.

The National Coalition on Black Voter Participation and its member organizations support the legislation as a step in the right direction, while recognizing it is not a panacea for nonvoting behavior. Mail registration forms that are valid statewide could reduce the number of confrontations between black citizens and biased or recalcitrant registrars as well as lessen the reliance on special deputy registrars to reach unregistered blacks.

Nevertheless, some advocates for minority voters are concerned that while H.R. 2190's "motor voter" provision would succeed in adding middle-class voters to the rolls, its mandatory purge provisions could remove large numbers of low-income citizens who, compared to the general population, vote less often, move more frequently, and are less likely to possess a driver's license.

Therefore, it is important that the bill's mandatory agency-based provisions extend beyond motor vehicle departments to include other state agencies, including welfare offices, public schools, and libraries, that directly serve minority communities. Furthermore, we could not support a registration reform bill that could be interpreted as superceding or limiting any provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, as amended.

The road ahead for reform legislation will be rocky. The Senate bill has yet to generate significant bipartisan support, and the Bush administration has raised the issues of costs and fraud while hinting at a presidential veto. This is unfortunate. At a time when citizens around the world are acknowledging the vitality of democracy, it would be ironic indeed if the Bush administration and members of Congress opposed reasonable efforts to expand the electorate and thereby strengthen democracy in our country. ■

Eddie N. Williams, president of the Joint Center, Sonia R. Jarvis, executive director of the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation, Inc.

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Virginia's Son Celebrates Freedom

America's First Elected Black Governor Envisions a Crime-Free Future With Accessible Education and Affordable Housing

by L. Douglas Wilder

Editor's Note: Following is the inaugural address Governor L. Douglas Wilder delivered on January 13, 1990, at the state capitol in Richmond.

We gather here today for what is both a culmination and a continuation of the democratic process. Four years ago, I stood on this spot to assume the second-highest office in the commonwealth. Today, because of your faith in our efforts, I stand before you as chief executive of this state. And now—in keeping with the sanctioned privilege extended to all governors—it is my honor to address the people of this commonwealth, and to express to my fellow citizens the profound gratitude and deep sense of purpose that I feel in fulfilling your expectations.

Candor and honesty would have me admit to you that I was not blessed with the foresight to know that this moment was in the offing when I stood here in 1985. Having been tested in the political crucible of trial and cross-examination, I have been rendered a verdict by having had delivered unto me the greatest outpouring of votes ever accorded any candidate for this great office. For that, I shall be eternally grateful. And—be assured—I shall demonstrate that gratitude during the next four years by being a governor who will be beholden to but one special interest: the welfare of Virginians, all Virginians.

But my gratitude is not of such recent origin. It is said, "To whom much is given, much shall be expected." I will be the first to admit that I have been the beneficiary of much through no endeavors of my own. While I have indeed worked hard and performed to the best of my abilities, I have also had a few breaks along the way.

Indeed, in every walk—in every period of my life—there have been many more deserving and justly entitled to the fruits that wholesome opportunities present. And yet, for many, those chances never came and the bell of fulfillment never tolled for them. Providence indeed has directed my course. And I shall remain ever mindful of my good fortune.

In recent years, Virginia too has been blessed with good fortune. The progress and the prosperity we have enjoyed during this period has enabled us to reclaim the respected achievements of times past. In looking to our accomplishments in education, economic development, the environment, employment, housing, or transportation, we find that Virginia ranks among those states in the vanguard of forward-looking movement.

Not surprisingly, the ensuing pride in seeing our state climb in rank among our sister states in the nation and in preeminence among the Southern states, causes Virginians everywhere to feel good about our cause, our mission, and our success in forging Virginia's New Mainstream.

The commitment to looking ahead and not behind—of building rather than destroying; of bringing people together rather than pitting them against each other—also calls for me to address you with measured sobriety in facing conditions in the commonwealth today, and I will comment further in that regard when I address the General Assembly on Monday.

But for this moment, let me assure you that I do not intend to participate in bringing to a halt the momentum to which people of Virginia have grown accustomed, supported and enjoyed. Cicero, in parting observation, noted that "A commonwealth is not any collection of human beings...but an assembly of people joined in agreement on justice and partnership for the common good, and a community where civility must reign and all must live peacefully together." And we know what happened to Cicero's Rome, which could not pass on the heritage of its past to the people of its future. But we have done so; we can do so. And we shall do so. . . .

At this time—and in the place where so many great names in American history have trod—we renew this celebration of freedom in the full and certain knowledge that with it comes great responsibility. Without question, much tighter economic times which loom in the days ahead will test to the fullest our ability to make hard decisions, to lead, and to govern. But progress will be possible. Opportunity can be expanded. Freedom can be increased.

Resources employed in the past for the finer things in life can be—and will have to be—deployed for the more serious of our needs. For we know that freedom is but a word for the man or woman who needs and cannot find a job. Freedom—as it has been written—is a dream deferred when it "dries up like a raisin in the sun, and stinks like rotten meat."

Freedom is meaningless when a woman's right to choose is regulated outside the dictates of her own faith and conscience. Freedom is impotent when there is intolerance to those who hold moral and political beliefs different from our own. Freedom is restricted when labor and management cannot reach agreements. Freedom is impossible for the uneducated who try to live in today's complex world. Freedom is restrained for business and industry when our network of transportation is allowed to deteriorate. Freedom for the police is denied when their resources are unduly limited. Freedom for the people is assaulted when lawful authority is abused. Freedom for the next generation is mortgaged when we destroy our environment. And—as has been proven throughout recorded history—freedom is nowhere to be found when the people are overtaxed and over-regulated.

As we salute the idea of freedom today, let us pledge to extend that same freedom to others tomorrow. Let us fulfill the perfect promise of freedom and liberty left as a legacy for us by those who founded this commonwealth. And let us likewise be thankful that—while our country gave birth to a freedom long denied and delayed for all who loved freedom—the belief in these dreams held by those forebears was passed from generation to generation, and spawned the seeds that propagated the will and the desire to achieve.

We are on hallowed ground today, and the steps we take from this place must be steps of honor. The words we issue must be words of wisdom. The laws we pass must be laws of mercy and justice. And the faith we possess must be true to the Almighty. In meeting these challenges—and they will be difficult—I ask your help and that of God.

I do not shrink from the enormity of the task. In six million Virginians, there is endless courage and enormous strength—in the coming years, we will need it all. As we all know, as complexities of human relationships increase, the power to govern them also increases. The proper use of that power must always be subordinated to the public good, and that shall be uppermost in the hearts and minds of those to whom those powers are justly delegated by the people.

We shall not pause; we shall not rest upon laurels. For we have not fulfilled our destinies. In the coming years, we must persist and make every citizen of our commonwealth the subject of our interest and concern. We must insist that every agency of our government utilize every proper and effective instrument to carry out the will of the people—for, as with any democracy, the will of the people is supreme.

An administration can only be effective when it works for the people, all of the people. Our prosperity can continue only if our leaders and private citizens alike stay constantly advised of all of the relevant facts. In turn, we can expect to receive your support—as well as your constructive criticism—when you receive true information from those of us who serve as your trustees.

I am undaunted by that which lies ahead, as we have shown at other points in our history what we can accomplish when we fearlessly face the future. We have—and we shall—shun the defects of destruction, and shall work to achieve the highest degree of improvement in our status of which we are capable. We have a common concern, and we share the responsibility.

I see a Virginia of hope and happiness, of mothers and fathers building and nurturing families in those hearthstones where the cradle of childhood is rocked with wholesome expectation for the future—a future in which an education is within intellectual and financial reach; a future in which adequate and affordable housing is possible; a future in which nothing is impossible. I see a place where crime is not only reduced and our streets and neighborhoods are safe, but the root causes thereof—illiteracy, poverty, joblessness—are stamped out. I see a Virginia where the homeless can find shelter, where hunger cannot and does not stalk those unable to fend for themselves.

We must set priorities in the coming years. Specifically, we must be partners in working toward a revived economy—a healthy and thriving economy that provides equal opportunity for all Virginians. While the flow may have slowed, Virginia's New Mainstream is far from drying up. It shall be the task of this administration to ensure that a rising tide of prosperity and opportunity is possible in the future.

Some describe conditions in our commonwealth today in dismal terms. And yet, one must question the resolve and the reserve of those who are not called upon to make sacrifices greater than those who have preceded us. Despite our economic slowdown, we are living in the best of times. And they can be even better. And they will be better.

If you will forgive me a moment of nostalgia, we mark today not a victory of party or the accomplishments of an individual, but the triumph of an idea—an idea as old as America, as old as the God who looks out for us all. It is the idea expressed so eloquently from this great commonwealth by those who gave shape to the greatest nation ever known: Jefferson, Madison, Mason, and their able colleagues.

The idea that all men and women are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights: the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The idea that shows forth in the concepts of freedom and opportunity—not only in Virginia, but more recently in the fresh, new winds of Eastern Europe and the tumult of Panama.

If these words about freedom are to be heard at all today, I hope they will be heard by the young people of this Commonwealth. I want them to know that oppression can be lifted; that discrimination can be eliminated; that poverty need not be binding; that disability can be overcome; and that the offer of opportunity in a free society carries with it the requirement of hard work, the rejection of drugs and other false highs, and a willingness to work with others whatever their color or national origin.

We have come far, but we have far to go. We have done much, but we have much to do. I ask for your energy, for your understanding, for your dedication, for your patience and, yes, for your prayers.

Four years ago, I said to the people of Virginia that I was proud to be a Virginian. I did not think then that my pride could possibly be greater. And, in theory, it isn't. But in reality, that pride does burst forth, and lifts my voice and my spirit to proclaim, "I am a son of Virginia."

I thank you all. And may God be ever with us. ■

February 1990

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

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- **Federal Communication Commission policies which foster minority ownership of broadcast stations will be reviewed by the Supreme Court**
- **Wisconsin Governor Thompson seeks to set up a two-tier welfare system whereby recipients arriving from other states may not receive the Wisconsin rate for welfare until after living there for six months**
- **Across the Nation looks at a mayoral election in Oakland, California, and congressional contests in New Mexico and North Carolina**

A Rights Bill to Overturn High Court Rulings

On February 7, The Civil Rights Act of 1990 (CRA 1990) was introduced in both houses of Congress. The measure is primarily aimed at reversing last June's Supreme Court rulings that seriously limited the protections available to victims of employment discrimination under civil rights laws (see July 1989 *Focus*, "The Reagan Court: Turning Back the Clock"). The chief sponsors of the two identical versions of the bill, H.R. 4000 and S.2104, are Rep. **AUGUSTUS HAWKINS** (D-Calif.) and Sen. **EDWARD KENNEDY** (D-Mass.). They chair the congressional committees responsible for legislation involving discrimination in the workplace. Launched with strong bipartisan support, the legislation presently has 122 cosponsors in the House and 38 in the Senate as well as the backing of major civil rights groups.

"This legislation is necessary to prevent a retreat from the goal of equal justice and equal opportunity for all our people," says Hawkins. "For more than a quarter century, Congress, the courts, and a consensus of the American people have marched together toward that goal. Last year, the nation's highest court broke ranks with that democratic ideal and broke faith with that national commitment."

The main provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1990 follow.

Discrimination and Racial Harassment on the Job

In *Patterson v. McLean Credit Union*, the Supreme Court upheld the principle that a statute enacted in 1866, known as Section 1981, bans intentional race discrimination in the making of contracts. The Court ruled, however, that Section 1981 does not apply to the terms and conditions of the contract while the employee is on the job. As a result, an employee who had been insulted, harassed, or assigned demeaning work because of his or her race is left with no redress in the courts. The CRA 1990 would counter this by amending the original statute to reaffirm the rights of employees to enjoy all benefits, privileges, terms, and conditions established in employment contracts.

Burden of Proof to Shift Back Onto Employer

In *Wards Cove Packing Co. v. Atonio*, the Supreme Court overruled an 18-year precedent set in its unanimous *Griggs v. Duke Power Co.* decision. *Griggs* ruled that under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the burden of proof was on employers—rather than affected workers—to prove that employment practices which have the effect of disproportionately excluding minorities or women in hiring or promotions were required by business necessity. The Court's *Ward Cove* ruling shifted the burden of proof onto employees, saddling victims of discrimination with the difficult and expensive task of proving that their employer's practices are unjustified. The Civil Rights Act of 1990 would restore the *Griggs* rule.

Limits on After-the-Fact Challenges to Court Orders

In *Martin v. Wilks*, the Court allowed white fire-fighters to challenge a Birmingham, Alabama, consent decree which had established an affirmative action plan for municipal workers, even though the fire-fighters had not challenged the plan while it was being litigated. The CRA 1990 would strictly limit separate, after-the-fact challenges while ensuring that anyone who might be adversely affected by a proposed court order would be notified immediately and would have an opportunity to challenge it.

Other provisions of the CRA 1990 would reinforce the principle that employment discrimination under any circumstances is illegal, and amend Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to afford women as well as religious and ethnic minorities the same rights as racial minorities to recover money damages for harassment on the job. The bill would specifically leave affirmative action laws and regulations unchanged, however, and would not address the issue of racial quotas.

The proposed legislation is on a fast track in both bodies of Congress, with House and Senate hearings scheduled to begin this month. Meanwhile, a struggle over the bill is developing between Congress and the White House. The Bush administration, which initially argued that no corrective action was warranted by the Court's June rulings, has been prompted by the Hawkins-Kennedy initiative to put forward its own bill drafted by the Justice Department. The administration bill deals with the *Patterson* case and with the High Court's *Lorance v. AT&T Technologies* decision, which limits the time frame in which discrimination charges may be brought against a seniority system. Testifying before Rep. Augustus Hawkins' Education and Labor Committee on Capitol Hill in February, Deputy Attorney General DONALD AYER asserted that the administration's bill is adequate because *Wards Cove, Martin v. Wilks,* and other Supreme Court decisions of last June should remain intact.

Reaction from the civil rights community was sharp and immediate. BENJAMIN HOOKS, head of the NAACP and chair of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights (LCCR), rejected the administration's bill as a half measure. LCCR, a broad, national coalition of organizations, last year led the effort to block the administration's nomination of **WILLIAM LUCAS** as assistant attorney general for civil rights. It strongly supports the Hawkins-Kennedy bill and is certain to resist any attempts to dilute or delay the measure.

High Court to Review FCC's Minority Programs

After the Supreme Court ruled last year in *City of Richmond v. J.A. Croson Co.* to sharply narrow the allowable justifications for local and state minority business set-aside programs, many observers predicted it would soon begin overturning federal minority business programs as well. They may turn out to have been right. Last month the Court agreed to review two cases during this session—*Metro Broadcasting Inc. v. Federal Communications Commission* (FCC) and *Astroline Communications Company v. Shurberg Broadcasting*—in which two of the FCC's three policies on minority licensing and ownership of broadcast stations have been called into question. Observers are waiting to see if the Supreme Court will agree with an appeals court panel which last year ruled one of the FCC policies unconstitutional on the basis of *Croson*.

The FCC's comparative licensing policy, established in 1973 in response to an appeals court mandate, considers the minority make-up of applicant firms as one of several factors during hearings to award licenses for new television and radio channels. A second policy, known as the distress sale policy and established in 1978, applies only to the sale of existing stations threatened with losing their licenses. Under this policy, stations are allowed to sell their facilities at 75 percent of market value if the purchaser is a minority firm.

The comparative licensing policy was upheld last year by the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals, but will be reviewed by the Supreme Court in the *Metro* case. A different panel of the same appeals court, however, last year ruled against the distress sale policy, a decision that will be reviewed in the *Astroline* appeal. As yet unchallenged is a third FCC policy, also begun in 1978, which grants favorable tax status to the sale of any station to a minority buyer. All three policies were established after the courts and Congress found that the sale and transfer of broadcast stations were being tightly controlled by an old-boy network of white male executives.

The *Metro* case has grown out of the appeals court decision that the FCC was justified in denying Metro Broadcasting Inc. a license to operate a new UHF television station in Orlando, Florida. The FCC awarded the license instead to Rainbow Broadcasting, a firm which it found to be Metro's equal in background and experience but superior in its minority representation. Rainbow is owned by three Hispanics, two of them women, while all but one of Metro's nine male owners are white. Because the minority make-up of license applicants is only one of several criteria the FCC considers when reviewing requests for station licenses, the appellate panel concluded that the review policy is consistent with the flexible approach to affirmative action upheld by the Supreme Court's 1980 *Fullilove v. Klutznick* ruling. Unlike the Richmond set-aside program that was struck down by *Croson*, the federal set-aside program upheld by *Fullilove* did not use fixed numerical remedies.

However, in an apparently contradictory ruling by the same D.C. appeals court, a different judicial panel ruled that *Croson* does disqualify the FCC's distress sale policy as unconstitutional. The distress sale case arose when **ALAN SHURBERG,** who is white, challenged the FCC's rejection in 1984 of his request for a license to run WHCT-TV, a station in Hartford, Connecticut. The station's then-owner, Faith Center, was faced with having its license revoked by the FCC. Faith Center was allowed to make a special distress sale to minority-owned Astroline Communications Company, whose general partner, **RICHARD P. RAMIREZ,** is Hispanic. The appeals court ruled in favor of Shurberg, concluding that the FCC's distress sale policy was "not narrowly tailored to remedy past discrimination or to promote programming diversity," an echo of the *Croson* ruling.

Congress has always supported the FCC minority policies, voting in the last three years' appropriations bills to bar the FCC from changing the policies which in 1986 it announced it would consider doing. The Bush administration at first supported keeping the policies, joining the FCC in a court brief last autumn that defended their use. But on February 9, 1990, the Justice Department, acting independently from the FCC, made clear it was returning to the Reagan White House's position, urging the Supreme Court to overturn the minority licensing policy. The administration is expected to issue a follow-up brief urging that the distress sale policy be overturned as well. "The Justice Department did a flip-flop on the FCC's policies," says JAMES WINSTON, executive director of the National Association of Black Owned Broadcasters, "which shows that this is not about law but about politics. The Justice Department's last brief leaves the impression that President Bush's promise of a 'kinder, gentler nation' is not being born out in his concern for minorities."

However the Supreme Court decides these cases, minority ownership in broadcast stations remains very low, accounting for fewer than 300 (2.6 percent) of the 11,500 commercial radio and television outlets now in operation. Out of roughly 9,000 licenses issued since 1978, only 38 have come into minority hands through distress sales. By contrast, the FCC's minority licensing and tax policies, which still stand, are often cited as responsible for much of the growth in minority ownership, including the dramatic increases that took place between 1976 and 1981. According to Winston, the number of black-owned radio stations grew nearly five-fold during those five years alone, from 30 to 141. Although the FCC's tax policy is not now being challenged, a negative ruling by the Supreme Court could lead to its dissolution as well. Few people would argue that the old-boy club of white male media executives has afforded many opportunities to minorities over the last two decades. In Senate testimony on the issue last September, Winston observed that without the FCC's tax policy, "minority purchasers might as well disconnect their telephones, because they will never get another call to purchase a station."

Wisconsin Tries for Two-Tier Welfare

Wisconsin's Republican Governor TOMMY THOMPSON is seeking to establish an unprecedented two-tier welfare system that would no longer pay recipients who have relocated from other states the Wisconsin welfare rate on their arrival. Until they have remained in Wisconsin for six months, these "welfare migrants" would receive Aid for Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) payments at their home state's rate. No other state has attempted such a measure before now.

In 1986, Governor Thompson won election by focusing much of his campaign platform on the migrant welfare issue. The governor's critics charge that his plan is primarily aimed at keeping out welfare recipients from Illinois, which borders Wisconsin and pays AFDC families about $150 less per month than Wisconsin.

Thompson proposes to start the two-tier system as an experiment in three or four Wisconsin counties bordering Illinois. If it proves successful there, he would seek to establish it statewide. In order to move forward with the plan, he must first secure a waiver from U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) regulations. Then he would have to convince the Wisconsin legislature to pass enabling legislation. So far, the governor's lobbying of HHS to gain the Department's waiver has proved fruitless. Thompson has enlisted the support of an unlikely ally in **JOSEPH STROHL,** a Democrat and the majority leader in the state senate who has promised to back legislation establishing a two-tier system. Some local observers see Strohl's involvement as a way of positioning himself for an election challenge against Republican U.S. Senator **ROBERT KASTEN** in 1992.

Thompson has turned Wisconsin into what some are calling a "welfare battleground." In 1987, he cut the state's AFDC budget by six percent, and for the last three years he has slapped a freeze on any funding increases for the program. He has also instituted a controversial "Learnfare" program, in which a family's AFDC payments are entirely cut off if a child from the family fails to attend school. About 2,200 families are sanctioned each month under Learnfare, more than three-fourths of them in Milwaukee. As for the two-tier plan, "it means malicious welfare bashing" says black state Senator GARY GEORGE, cochair of the Wisconsin legislature's powerful Joint Finance Committee. "The plan is racially motivated because it's designed to discourage blacks from moving into the state from Illinois," says George. His district encompasses the predominantly black northern section of Milwaukee which contains a large percentage of welfare recipients. George is in a strong position to block any two-tier welfare bill because such a measure would go before his committee. The senator is not alone in opposing the Thompson plan. A coalition of church groups, social advocacy organizations, the state legal services program, and the Milwaukee public school system all oppose it and have threatened court action if it is enacted.

Across the Nation

CALIFORNIA: After serving three terms as mayor of Oakland, LIONEL WILSON, 74, will face serious opposition in his 1990 bid for reelection. Five black challengers—all Democrats—have entered this year's mayoral race to unseat the city's first black chief executive. During his 13-year tenure, Wilson's only significant competition up to now had come from city council member WILSON RILES JR. who challenged him in 1985. Riles is running again this year, along with state assemblyman ELIHU HARRIS, city council member LEO BAZILE, college administrator DEZIE WOODS-JONES, and 1968 Olympic track gold medalist JIM HINES.

Local analysts view the contest as a three-way race among the mayor, Riles, and Harris. Mayor Wilson may gain from the prestige and name recognition that go with being mayor for 13 years. He is credited with having opened up City Hall to the people of Oakland after it had been dominated for years by a white power structure (47 percent of the city is black). But Wilson's three-term incumbency could prove to be a double-edged sword. Some of his former supporters, including Elihu Harris, feel Wilson has been in office too long and say it's time for a change. The mayor's advancing age—he will be 75 by the primary—may also be a factor among some voters.

Wilson Riles, often thought of as the conscience of the city council, is an advocate of affordable housing and protecting residential neighborhoods against downtown development. He also fought to have the city designated a Nuclear Free Zone. Riles has been on the council for 10 years; he garnered 31 percent of the vote in the last mayoral election, and he has built up strong name recognition.

Not as visible as either Riles or Mayor Wilson is Elihu Harris, an attorney who has served 12 years in the California Assembly. Although Harris's district takes in about 70 percent of Oakland, critics charge he has not been able to use his Judiciary Committee chairmanship to respond to his constituents' bread and butter issues. The committee has been a powerful tool for raising money, however, as Harris has raised more than the mayor and Riles combined—much of it from California's legal community.

Whoever emerges as the victor, the next mayor will have to deal with the city's continuing recovery from last year's devastating earthquake and with corruption in the city's school system. Residents of the poor black neighborhood bisected by the Route 880 bridge which collapsed during the quake are demanding that the bridge be rebuilt elsewhere. And the public school system has been scandalized by the recent arrests of 13 of the system's employees for fraud, nepotism, payroll padding, embezzlement, and theft.

NEW MEXICO: Black Democratic state treasurer JAMES LEWIS is seeking to challenge incumbent Republican STEVEN H. SCHIFF for his 1st Congressional District seat. A former treasurer of Bernalillo County (which includes Albuquerque) and university administrator, Lewis will have his work cut out for him if he is to win a seat in Congress. First, Lewis will have to defeat Secretary of State REBECCA VIGIL-GIRON, who is Hispanic, in the June 5 Democratic primary. This may not be easy since the district is nearly 40 percent Hispanic and only about two percent black.

Even if Lewis wins the primary, defeating Schiff in the general election will be difficult in a district that has voted Republican in the last four presidential elections and that returned former Republican Congressman **MANUEL LUJAN** (now Secretary of the Interior) to office for 20 years. Schiff's high profile as a law-and-order district attorney aided him in his 1988 race. In that race, he narrowly beat well-funded Democratic attorney **TOM UDALL**, the nephew of Rep. **MORRIS UDALL** (D-Ariz.), winning 51 percent of the vote.

Lewis believes Schiff can be beaten this year because he's a first-termer who was elected by a slim margin. Furthermore, although the state is only two percent black, Lewis has built broad coalitions. He has hooked into a network of political contacts through his membership in numerous clubs and associations, ranging from the American G.I. Forum (a mainly Hispanic organization) to the Temple Albert Men's Club (a Jewish group). As a Democrat, Lewis has been able to appeal to a broad spectrum of the electorate, including many Republicans. In fact, in his statewide election to treasurer in 1986, he even polled more votes than Republican Governor GARREY CARRUTHERS.

NORTH CAROLINA: Ever since the nasty and expensive 1984 Senate campaign, the Democratic Party has had a tough time finding candidates to challenge incumbent Republican Senator **JESSE HELMS**, whose term expires this year. In the 1984 race, Helms beat former Democratic Governor **JAMES HUNT** by 52 percent to 48 percent. **This year, Hunt has declined a rematch with the arch-conservative three-termer. So far, four Democrats have decided to enter the fray, including HARVEY GANTT, the former black mayor of Charlotte.**

Gantt became Charlotte's first black mayor in 1983 and was reelected in 1985. In 1987 he lost to white Republican SUE MYRICK, in a third-term bid. Before 1983, Gantt had served as a city councilman and mayor pro tem. After leaving office, he returned to Gantt Huberman Architects, a firm he cofounded in 1971.

Although no black politician has ever been elected statewide in North Carolina, Gantt's chances to win the Democratic senatorial nomination are strong. Blacks constitute 31 percent of the state's registered Democrats, and Gantt has already proven his cross-racial voter appeal (Charlotte is only 25 percent black). Given what promises to be a crowded primary field, Gantt may benefit from North Carolina's newly revised primary election law which only requires that a candidate win a 40 percent plurality to become the nominee (instead of 50 percent-plus-one to avoid a run-off election). The law is pending at the Justice Department for preclearance in accordance with Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act.

In a general election, Gantt would be helped by a high turnout among North Carolina's 23 percent black population. Helms has an abysmal voting record on civil rights, South African sanctions, funding for social programs, and other issues of importance to black Americans. In an attempt to curry favor among black voters, the senator recently hired former civil rights activist **JAMES MEREDITH** as an aide on his staff (see October 1989 TrendLetter). But that is unlikely to blunt black opposition. In each of his three previous elections Helms received less than five percent of the black vote.

Moreover, Gantt could do well among North Carolina's white voters. With the end of the Reagan presidency and the waning of the conservative movement, Helms' espousal of right-wing issues may no longer have the edge it had when he ran with RONALD REAGAN on the ballot in '84. Gantt, on the other hand, intends to run on issues that hit closer to home—like education, health care, reproductive rights, day care, and the drug problem. Gantt says Helms is beatable because, in his view, he is out of step with the times. "Helms is more popular with right-wing dictators than he is with voters in North Carolina," says Gantt. The voters will let us know if he's right on election day.

Court Ruling Favors Minority Set-Asides

King County, Washington, Set-Aside Program for Minorities and Women, Revised to Meet the Supreme Court's Croson *Standards, Is Upheld*

by Pamela Joshi

On December 6, 1989, U.S. District Judge William L. Dwyer handed down a decision that upheld the constitutionality of the minority and women business set-aside program of King County, Washington (which encompasses the city of Seattle). The ruling in *Coral Construction* v. *King County* is believed to mark the first time a set-aside program has been upheld by a federal court after being revised to meet the standards set by last January's U.S Supreme Court decision in *City of Richmond* v. *J.A. Croson Co.*

In the *Croson* decision, the Supreme Court overturned a Richmond set-aside program that required at least 30 percent of the dollar amount of each prime city construction contract to be subcontracted out to minority firms (see *Focus,* January-February 1989). However, the Court did not declare set-asides as such unconstitutional.

The plaintiffs in the *King County* case were the white-owned Coral Construction Company, based in Portland, and the Oregon chapter of the Associated General Contractors. Last October, the plaintiffs challenged the King County set-aside program on the grounds that it violated Coral's Fourteenth Amendment equal protection rights. Coral Construction was the lowest bidder on a $180,000 county guardrail construction contract that was awarded to an Asian-owned company instead.

Judge Dwyer, citing *Croson,* upheld the King County set-aside program because it met the Supreme Court's strict scrutiny standards for state and local minority set-aside programs. King County ensures minority and female participation in county contracting through a flexible program tailored to meet the standards established by the Supreme Court in *Croson*.

The first standard that a state or local government must meet is providing evidence of past discrimination to justify a compelling state interest in applying a remedy. This may be accomplished by providing specific incidents or practices of discrimination, by demonstrating that the local government was a passive participant in a system which practices discrimination, or through statistical evidence of underutilization of minority- and women-owned firms. (Some jurisdictions are commissioning statistical disparity studies to justify their set-asides.)

In the *King County* case, the District Court was provided evidence that contractors refused to hire minority- and women-owned businesses even when they had made the lowest bids on contracts. These businesses were also required to meet more stringent subcontracting terms than white-owned firms. Furthermore, King County was found to have been a passive participant in discrimination because it commissioned contracts from companies that practiced racial and gender discrimination.

Under the second standard set by the Supreme Court, a jurisdiction must have carefully considered race-neutral alternatives before implementing minority set-asides. King County officials had investigated other remedies, such as reducing bonding requirements and offering direct financial assistance. These could not be used because they are illegal under Washington state law.

The third standard requires minority set-aside programs to be narrowly tailored to address the identified discrimination. King County's program satisfied that standard because it was specifically based on the number of available minority firms in the relevant market.

In *King County,* the district court also had to rule on the women-owned business program, an issue not addressed by *Croson*. Historically, women-owned businesses have been subject to a much less stringent standard of review than that applied in *Croson*. In *King County,* the district court felt the women's set-aside program was based on enough evidence of past discrimination to be held constitutional.

Although the ruling in *King County* is seen as a glimmer of hope in the civil rights community, its value as a precedent is being viewed with caution. Tyrone Press, chief of investigations and research at the Minority Business Enterprise Legal Defense and Education Fund, views the decision as encouraging, but he cites two reasons why it does not establish a set-aside model that could be used by other jurisdictions. First, the case was appealed on December 28, 1989, to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals and has yet to be ruled on. Second, a fact-finding disparity study, commissioned by King County to document discrimination in accordance with *Croson,* was not considered in the decision.

Despite the positive ruling in *King County,* the *Croson* ruling continues to be used to strike down set-aside programs. So far, at least eight set-aside programs have been deemed unconstitutional, approximately 33 are under court challenge, and about 20 state and local jurisdictions have voluntarily suspended their programs. Nevertheless, advocates of these programs hope *King County* will be the first of many decisions that will uphold the principle of group-sensitive remedies for past discrimination, thus vindicating the set-aside concept. ■

Ms. Joshi is a research assistant at the Joint Center.

Is a New Yardstick Needed to Measure Poverty?

Revisions in the Method of Measuring Poverty Could Mean a Big Change in the Number of Americans Considered Poor, Affecting Eligibility for Social Programs

by Joyce E. Allen and Margaret C. Simms

After two decades of anti-poverty programs, the number of poor people in America has grown, according to official federal government statistics. In 1969, the number living below the poverty line was just over 24 million (12.1 percent of the population), while in 1988 it was 31.9 million (13.1 percent). Although the proportion of black Americans in poverty (33 percent) remained constant, their number climbed from 7.1 to 9.4 million during that period. A debate has been going on in the nation's capitol over whether the increase in the number of poor Americans reflects the apparent intractability of poverty or whether the trend has resulted simply from the way poverty is measured.

Measuring poverty is important because eligibility for many federal programs (including the Food Stamp Program, the Commodity Supplemental Food Program, and child nutrition programs) is based in part on the official poverty level. A change in how poverty is measured could affect the amount of money Congress budgets for programs essential to the economic well-being of millions of Americans. The debate has taken on greater significance because the Bush administration wants to increase funding next year for federal studies to improve the quality of economic statistics. One of these studies would seek to develop new poverty income guidelines.

Origin of the Poverty Thresholds

The present definition of poverty is often considered to be obsolete because it is based on living standards and conditions that existed more than 20 years ago. In the mid-1960s, while the War on Poverty was being declared, Mollie Orshansky, an official at the Social Security Administration, developed a method for measuring poverty and for estimating the number of people in poverty. Orshansky's concept was based on the cost of a minimally adequate diet, one that would sustain an individual or family for a limited period of time.

The cost of this "economy" diet or food budget was estimated and then combined with information from a 1955 survey of consumption expenditures of American households. Since the survey indicated that the typical family spent one-third of its annual budget on food, the economy food plan was multiplied by three to determine the poverty thresholds, that is, the money income limits to be used in identifying families or individuals who were poor. The economy food budget varied depending on household size and composition (age and sex of members).

With slight modifications, the Orshansky thresholds were adopted in 1969 by the Bureau of the Budget (now the Office of Management and Budget) as the official measure of poverty. Except for annual updates to adjust for inflation as measured by the consumer price index and for minor technical adjustments in 1981, the Orshansky method has remained unchanged since it was adopted.

This method of measuring poverty has always generated controversy because it has several shortcomings. For example, it is based on a food budget designed for emergency food needs. Further, the consumption survey it relies on excludes homeless families and individuals, almost all of whom are likely to be poor.

The controversy over how poverty should be measured has heated up with the release of two reports last October. In one report, *Money Income and Poverty Status in the United States: 1988,* the U.S. Bureau of the Census published alternative estimates of the number of Americans in poverty. This marked the first time that alternative estimates have been included in this annual report. The alternative estimates, which are based on the dollar value of noncash benefits and a revised price index, show fewer people in poverty than the official estimate.

The second report, *Alternative Measures of Poverty,* which was prepared for the Joint Economic Committee of Congress (JEC), indicates that the poverty population may have increased more dramatically in the past 20 years than the official numbers show. Unlike the Census Bureau report, the JEC report takes into account changes in consumption patterns for housing and child care. Using their updated poverty thresholds, which were based on new data on family consumption patterns, the authors of the JEC report estimate that the poverty rate was 24.1 percent in 1987, as opposed to the official rate of 13.5 percent.

Dr. Allen is a senior research associate and Dr. Simms is a deputy director of research at the Joint Center.

Given these two reports, resolving contradictions in the way we measure poverty has become an immediate public policy concern. While most of the attention has focused on noncash benefits, other major weaknesses in the current method may need to be examined. In particular, changes that have taken place in the cost of living and in living standards since the official definition of poverty was adopted two decades ago may need to be reconsidered.

Counting Noncash Benefits

The official measurement of poverty is based on cash income only, an approach that may have been more credible before the noncash (in-kind) public assistance programs of the 1960s were established. Since the War on Poverty was launched, the poor have received more and more public assistance in the form of noncash benefits, such as food stamps and Medicaid. The value of this assistance is not included in measuring a family's income.

In fiscal year 1969, approximately 52 percent of all federal public assistance was in cash and the remainder was in goods and services such as food, medical care, and housing. By fiscal year 1988, because of tremendous growth in Medicaid and the Food Stamp Program, cash accounted for only 29 percent of federal public assistance benefits while goods and services made up the remaining 71 percent.

Since in-kind benefits are an important part of the "safety net" that exists for the poor, it has often been suggested that these benefits be included when calculating whether or not a person is poor. Clearly, fewer people would be considered in poverty if the value of their in-kind benefits were taken into account. The Census Bureau estimates that the poverty rate would have been 2.6 percentage points lower in 1988 (10.5 instead of 13.1 percent) if certain in-kind benefits including Medicaid coverage, food stamps, free and reduced-price school lunches, and rent subsidies were counted (see table).

However, blacks are differentially affected if those in-kind benefits are counted as income. For example, their poverty rate would have been 6.8 percentage points lower in 1988 (24.8 instead of 31.6 percent) due to their relatively heavy reliance on noncash benefits as compared to the general population. Similarly, the poverty rate for black children would have been nine percentage points lower as compared to 2.9 percentage points lower for white children.

A number of unresolved issues surround the valuation of in-kind benefits. Among them are deciding which in-kind benefits should be included in the definition of income and finding the most appropriate methodology for placing a dollar value on them. Two techniques for valuing in-kind benefits used by the Census Bureau are the market-value approach and the recipient-value approach. These alternative techniques yield different poverty rates.

The market-value approach tends to result in the largest reduction in rates of poverty. Market value is based on the private sector (or market) price of the goods and services received. The recipient-value approach, by contrast, is based on the program participant's own valuation of the benefit. Theoretically, this second approach reflects recipients' subjective valuation of the amount of cash they would be willing to accept in place of their in-kind benefits.

Differences Between Official and Alternative Estimates of Poverty, 1988
(Impact of Including Noncash Benefits in Income)

Poverty Rates

Persons	Official[1]	Alternative[2]	Percentage Point Decline
All	13.1%	10.5%	2.6
White	10.1	8.3	1.8
Black	31.6	24.8	6.8
Hispanic	26.8	22.0	4.8
Related Children Under 18			
All	19.6	15.5	4.1
White	14.4	11.5	2.9
Black	44.1	35.1	9.0
Hispanic	37.8	30.5	7.3

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[1] Official estimates are based on cash income only.

[2] Alternative estimates are based on cash income plus the value of noncash benefits such as food stamps, school lunches, rent subsidies and Medicare coverage. The value of noncash benefits was estimated based on the market value approach, except for medical services.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1989.

The valuation of medical benefits poses special problems. For example, under one method of valuing medical benefits, the more medical services a Medicaid recipient receives, the richer he or she would appear to be, because that person's estimated income would include the value of medical services received by beneficiaries and paid for by the government. Given the difficulty of placing a cash value on medical benefits, some researchers suggest that they not be included as an in-kind benefit.

Changes in Minimum Living Standards

Living standards and price levels have changed significantly since the official way of measuring poverty was first adopted. After all, the consumption data used to produce Orshansky's "one-third food, two-thirds other goods and services" formula are now 35 years old. As income has increased for the average family over the years, and as the cost of other essentials has grown, the proportion of income that is spent on food has decreased.

Given this trend, some analysts, including Orshansky herself, have urged that the multiplier be adjusted over time to reflect changing consumption patterns. For example, some researchers contend that a proportion of "one-fifth food" is probably more plausible today, which suggests that a multiplier greater than three (perhaps as high as four or five) should be used to estimate the corre-

(Continued on back page)

Is a New Yardstick Needed?

(Continued from page 7)

sponding household budget. This would mean that the poverty thresholds would be significantly higher and that more people would be classified as being in poverty. Child care is another example of how consumption patterns have changed over time. Once only a small proportion of family budgets, it now constitutes an essential cost for many families. Yet this change is not reflected in the current poverty thresholds.

Since the poverty thresholds are updated annually to reflect price changes, an ongoing issue is how best to measure these changes. The Labor Department concluded in the early 1980s that the Consumer Price Index used in the 1970s to update the poverty thresholds gave too much weight to housing in estimating the cost of living for the average family. Thus, in 1983, the Bureau of Labor Statistics began to use an alternative method for estimating changes in the cost of living, one that uses the rental value of housing. However, the alternative method was not projected backward to the middle 1970s. If it had been, the alternative poverty rate would be lower than the official one. For example, the overall poverty rate for 1988 would be 11.6 percent, instead of 13.1 percent and the rate for blacks would be 29.1 percent rather than 31.6 percent. Some critics of the current way of measuring poverty argue that the alternative method, with its rental value, should have been projected backward and that the official measure of poverty should incorporate this change.

Revising the Poverty Line

Given the nation's continuing concern about poverty, it seems fairly clear that something should be done to change the poverty thresholds that are used to measure our progress over time. The question is, what should be done? To the extent that our attempts to measure poverty are based on a desire to identify those in need and to assist them, it may be appropriate to include some noncash benefits when measuring income. However, to the extent that we are also attempting to define a minimally adequate standard, it would also be necessary to revisit methods of estimating the cost and standard of living.

Clearly, if we include housing subsidies in the income side we need to adjust upward our thresholds for the changes in the proportion of income that must be spent on housing (estimated to be as high as 50 percent of income for some poor families). If we expect mothers to work, especially those at the low end of the income scale, we should include the cost of child care in the family budget. In any case, the "correction" that may be necessary requires more than just a quick fix. ■

Join Us at Our 20th Anniversary Dinner

The Joint Center for Political Studies will celebrate its 20th Anniversary at this year's annual dinner on Wednesday, April 4, 1990, to be held at the Washington Hilton Hotel here in the nation's capital. Virginia Governor L. Douglas Wilder will be honored at the event.

David T. Kearns, chairman and chief executive officer of Xerox Corporation, is the national dinner chairman, and Robert B. Washington, Jr., managing partner of the law firm of Laxalt, Washington, Perito & Dubuc, is chairing the General Dinner Committee.

Sponsors' tables of 10 seats each are priced at $5,000; patrons' tables of 10 are $2,500; and individual tickets are $250. For further information or to make reservations, please call Alfreda Edwards at 202—626-3555.

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On to the Next 20 Years

The Joint Center Will Continue to be a Critical Policy Resource to Decision Makers Addressing The Next Century's Challenges

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As Its First Chairman, Martin Guided the Joint Center Through Difficult Beginnings; As a Board Member, His Counsel Has Been Invaluable Over the Last 20 Years

A History of the Joint Center 1970–1990

For 20 Years, the Joint Center Has Led the Way, Through Its Policy Research, to Make American Political, Economic, and Social Institutions More Responsive to the Concerns of African-Americans

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On to the Next 20 Years

The Joint Center Will Continue to be a Critical Policy Resource to Decision Makers Addressing The Next Century's Challenges

by Eddie N. Williams

Next month, the Joint Center celebrates its 20th anniversary. For us this is a dramatic and historic occasion, a time to reflect on beginnings and achievements and to express gratitude to individuals and enterprises that have made our work possible. It is also a time for rededication to our unique mission as a research and public policy institution: to contribute to the national interest by helping black Americans participate fully in the political and economic mainstreams of our society.

This issue of *Focus* includes a historical essay on the Joint Center's first 20 years by Dr. Darlene Clark Hine, the John A. Hannah Professor of History at Michigan State University. The essay has been adapted from her forthcoming book on the subject, to be published in the fall of 1990 by University Press of America.

While celebrating our past, we are also developing a strategic vision of the future. This vision is reflected in one important change we have made at this juncture. The Joint Center has undergone a slight name change. Our new name, Joint Center for Political *and Economic* Studies, conveys, with its two added words, a more accurate definition of who we are and what we do. The Joint Center's name change indicates our growing involvement in economic policy areas, in both national and international affairs. We believe that economic empowerment will be a major thrust of black aspirations well into the 21st century, and the Joint Center is committed to responding to these aspirations in the years ahead as it has to black political aspirations over the past 20 years.

The dramatic progress blacks have made since the end of World War II constitutes one of the major social revolutions in modern times. This fact is underscored—anecdotally and symbolically, to be sure—by blacks serving as justice on the U.S. Supreme Court, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, head of the Democratic Party, and chief executives of the Commonwealth of Virginia and the City of New York.

In the private sector, as well, blacks have broken old barriers to achievement. Media superstars now receive top billing alongside black athletes and, in a few cases, black coaches of major sports teams. In 1989 two black businessmen became the principal owners of a National Basketball Association franchise. Another owns an international business of the Fortune 500 variety, and more blacks are appearing at the apex of the corporate pyramid. Furthermore, the black middle class has grown substantially over the past two decades.

Research provides further evidence of improved well-being among blacks over the past five decades: in enhanced income and living standards; health and life expectancy; and educational, occupational, and residential opportunities. While different studies and analysts report different degrees of progress on these measures, there is virtually no serious disagreement about the basic direction of change.

FOCUS

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While progress may have been slow in coming and may still elude more than a third of all blacks, it nevertheless is tangible evidence of what is desirable and achievable and it establishes a framework for initiatives by blacks, whites, and governments at all levels in the future. One clear goal of the Joint Center's research and policy analyses for the '90s is to give impetus and support to the continuing process of positive change.

Building on past achievements will contribute significantly to future progress. So, too, will documentation and articulation of continuing problems, such as the current resurgence in overt racism, and of the political and public policy implications of those problems.

The resurgence of incidents of manifest racism coincides with social conditions that underscore the deep, longstanding consequences of a history of racial inequality. The still widening gap between blacks and whites in educational achievement, the rapidly growing population of urban blacks mired in poverty, the scourges of drugs and lifestyle-related diseases that ravage large segments of the black population, and the continued deterioration of family and other institutions, all fuel a sense of gloom and permanent handicap.

The changes we have all witnessed in race relations, both progress and retrogression, illustrate the complexity of the problems of race, the difficulty of identifying lasting solutions, and the need to keep searching for workable answers.

Looking toward the year 2000, the Joint Center's research and information programs will play a critical role as blacks and the nation confront a future in which racial differences will continue both to influence the public policy agenda and to create tensions that demand special attention. Consider these projections:

- Blacks will constitute a growing proportion of the labor pool, and many of them will be poorly prepared to compete in a complex global economy.
- Without greater private sector involvement and more vigorous government action, the overall economic condition of blacks will continue to lag behind that of whites.
- The black community faces increasing polarization into two disparate and growing groups: a middle class and a poverty population characterized by teenage pregnancy, crime, drug abuse, poor educational opportunities, and joblessness.
- Public policy is becoming less race-specific at all levels of government.
- The black community will play an increasingly aggressive role in the search for solutions to the problems it faces.

For two decades now, through its research, its unique access to black leaders, and its consensus-building activities, the Joint Center has met the need for objective, critical thinking about public policies that affect race relations in America and about the political process by which these policies are developed and implemented. This need is becoming ever more urgent.

In the years ahead, the Joint Center will continue to strive both to elucidate the issues of race in America and to anticipate their direction as we address the pressing political and economic needs of black Americans and of the nation. We pledge our best efforts to meet the challenges before us as a center of intellectual discovery and a wellspring of practical political knowledge; as an organization of unquestioned credibility; and as a forum in which scholars and political leaders with diverse interests and views can exchange ideas, interact on public policy issues, and search for consensus. ■

The Joint Center Changes Its Name

The Joint Center for Political Studies, the nation's preeminent black think tank, has adopted a new name: Joint Center for Political *and Economic* Studies. The name change reflects the institution's growing involvement in the economic policy issues that determine the quality of life for all Americans.

Announcing the name change, the Joint Center's president Eddie N. Williams, said: "Our new name reflects the emergence of economic issues as the key challenges for blacks in the decade of the nineties and signals our intention to help meet those challenges.

"Twenty years ago, when the Joint Center was established, the main challenge before us was to secure the power of the vote for black Americans and to provide useful information and training for newly elected black officials. It was this need that the Joint Center was created to fill. Today, more and more, the focus of black aspirations is economic advancement. While continuing to respond to black political strivings, the Joint Center will now be more responsive to the economic imperatives that we must confront in this decade and the next century. Trade and tax policies, business productivity, and a better trained work force are among the issues that will shape our future and our nation's future and determine our place in the world.

"The expansion of the Joint Center's program to encompass domestic and international economic issues is an evolutionary process that has been well underway for several years now. Joint Center research, publications, and special projects have been dedicated to such issues as schooling for minority students, employment, and poverty. Thus, our new name makes official a change that we have been growing toward over time, as we grapple with the public policy issues and challenges of the day. However, our mission remains the same: to promote full participation for blacks in the political and economic life of our nation."

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An Agenda for Healing: Congressional Initiatives for 1990

As External Threats to National Security Decrease, the Congressional Black Caucus Is Pushing to Redirect Our National Priorities Toward Human Development

by David C. Ruffin

Members of Congress are seizing on the opportunity presented by the recent advent of non-socialist governments in Eastern Europe and Central America. As the rationale fades for increased defense spending, policy makers are calling for reinvestment in solutions to long deferred problems like the growth in illiteracy and infant mortality and the declining skill levels of the labor force. Nevertheless, these proposals must survive-stiff opposition from congressional conservatives and the Bush administration who charge that the programs are too expensive. The following are some of the initiatives that the 101st Congress is considering in its second session.

Black Caucus Budget Alternative

In March, the Congressional Black Caucus introduced its "Quality of Life Budget" as an alternative federal budget proposal for fiscal year 1991. The Caucus challenges Congress and the Bush administration to reprogram tens of billions of dollars from armaments and reinvest them in the nation's human and physical resources. The CBC budget would reduce spending for military and space programs by $25.3 billion, raise $19.8 billion in additional revenues, and spend $46.5 billion more on social programs. The following figures show how the CBC budget differs from the administration's proposal for FY91 in major program areas (figures in billions):

Defense	-$23.711
General Science, Space and Technology	-1.409
Education, Training, Employment, and Social Services	+4.201
Health	+3.845
Medicare	+5.538
Income Security (includes subsidized housing)	+5.262
Social Security	+.938
Drug Programs	+.992
Transportation	+1.210
International Affairs (including foreign aid)	+1.714
Natural Resources and Environment	+.660

In presenting its budget, the CBC condemns the continued neglect of those in need—the young, the physically disadvantaged, and the jobless. The black legislators call for a federal fiscal policy that reaffirms a national concern for social and economic justice.

Head Start Reauthorization

Head Start, the successful early child development program now observing its 25th anniversary, is due to expire this year. Democrats and Republicans agree that the program is effective and should be reauthorized for another four years, but disagree on how much the government ought to pay for it. On March 1, Rep. Dale Kildee (D-Mich.), chair of the Education and Labor Subcommittee on Human Resources, introduced H.R. 4150, his "full funding" proposal to authorize $2.7 billion for fiscal year 1991 ($1 billion more than in fiscal year 1990). Kildee's bill would fund Head Start for eligible three-, four-,and five-year-olds at an estimated cost of $3,500 per pupil.

The bill would expand the proportion of eligible children enrolled in Head Start from 18 percent (the official estimates of those now served) to 40 percent. The measure would also pay for program improvements and salary increases for teachers and staff. Overall, it would raise Head Start funding to $4.3 billion in fiscal year 1992, $5.9 billion in 1993, and $7.7 billion in 1994. A companion bill, S. 2229, has been introduced by Sen. Christopher Dodd (D-Conn.).

African and Caribbean Development

The Congressional Black Caucus plans to introduce the Mickey Leland African and Caribbean Development Act to double foreign aid to Africa and the Caribbean to nearly $1 billion. Funds for the expanded aid package would go toward economic development, long-term debt restructuring, and relief from the famine on the horn of Africa that threatens over five million people with starvation. The bill also earmarks $260 million for Caribbean development assistance. Caucus chair Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.) has warned that CBC members would vote against any omnibus foreign aid bill that did not include these provisions. ■

Mr. Ruffin is the editor of *Focus* magazine.

March 1990

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Inside This Issue:

- Selma remains divided over the firing of Norward Roussell, the city's first black school superintendent; meanwhile, Boston removes Laval Wilson as its first black top school executive
- Small town mayors receive training on how to be better municipal administrators
- Across the Nation looks at Coy Payne's mayoral victory in Arizona; Maxine Waters in Los Angeles and former Bush administration official J. Kenneth Blackwell in Cincinnati are running for Congress; and former congressman Charles Diggs is running for a state legislative post in Maryland

Firing of Selma's Black School Chief Angers Community

Selma, Alabama, where voting rights marchers were brutally beaten by police on the Edmund Pettus Bridge 25 years ago on "Bloody Sunday," is in the throes of a new battle that is once again pitting the black and white communities against one another. The issue is the December firing of Dr. NORWARD ROUSSELL, the city's first black school superintendent, by the Selma School Board. The dismissal spurred black students to boycott classes and moved black parents to protest the actions of the school board and the city administration. All the black members of the school board have resigned in reaction to the dismissal. Whether Roussell stays or goes is now in the hands of the federal courts, since he has filed a $10 million law suit against the school board for violating his civil rights.

In a decision that broke exactly along racial lines, the white-majority school board (with six white members and five black members) voted last December 21 to dismiss Roussell and to not renew his contract. Roussell, whose current contract expires on June 30, was hired in 1987 and earns an annual salary of $80,000. The board's official reason for firing him was that he had a "dictatorial" style of management. But according to blacks who are protesting the dismissal, Roussell was fired because he ended a tracking system whereby talented black students were routinely excluded from advanced classes that seemed to be reserved for whites. "Ninety percent of the white students were in the higher tracks and 90 percent of the black students were in the lower tracks," say attorney J. L. chestnut, who represents the Best Educational Support Team, a parents' protest organization. In this new form of segregation, many black students have been kept out of college preparatory courses like algebra and biology. "They only want to train black kids to be carpenters and mechanics," Chestnut says.

The five black school board members resigned in protest immediately after the vote. Their opposition was echoed by the black community when a quarter of the school system's 6,000 students, most of whom are black, walked out of classes. Parents have been demonstrating day and night against the administration of white Mayor **JOE SMITHERMAN** in front of City Hall. Tension mounted in February as about 150 black students occupied Selma High School for five days. Mayor Smitherman (who was also mayor in 1965 at the time of Bloody Sunday) sought a court order to forcibly remove the students, but federal district judge **CHARLES BUTLER** denied the request. The denial precipitated a decision by education and city officials to close the entire 11-school system.

Roussell, who disagreed with the boycott, eventually convinced the students to leave the Selma High voluntarily. The city's chools reopened on February 13, surrounded by state troopers and 200 National Guardsmen who had been ordered to the scene by Republican Gov. **GUY HUNT**. Relenting to community pressure, the school board reinstated Roussell, but only to finish out this contract year. While the black students have returned to their classes, more than 300 white students have been withdrawn from the public schools by parents who feared for their safety, and they now swell the area's white private schools.

There were no blacks on either the city council or school board in 1965 when Selma made history as the violent starting point of the 54-mile peaceful march to the capital city of Montgomery to press for the passage of the Voting Rights Act. The issue for blacks then, as well as now, has been control. Blacks have little control over Selma's school system even though 70 percent of its students are black. And while Selma's black citizens comprise a 52 percent majority of the city's 27,000 population, they have never gained control of city hall. According to black Council-man **WILLIAM KING**, Selma is "still two separate and paranoid communities, even though the blatancy of racism has gone."

In 1988, mayor Smitherman was challenged by a black candidate, city councilman CLEO MANN and one other candidate but he won 54 percent of the vote. Whites have not only held on to the mayor's seat, but they have also maintained a five-to-four majority on the city council through the at-large election of the council president. Control of the council is crucial, because the council and the mayor appoint the school board.

Meanwhile, as blacks continue to demonstrate in front of city hall, the school board has been negotiating with Roussell to accept a financial settlement to leave his post—so far, he has resisted these offers. As far as our children are concerned," says Chestnut, "we are right back where we started from."

Like Selma, Like Boston

The racial tension that has grown out of the Boston School Committee's firing of that city's first black school superintendent, **LAVAL S. WILSON**, is nothing new in a city known for the violence that followed its implementation of court-ordered busing in 1974. The School Committee voted on February 13 to buy out the remaining 16 months of Superintendent Wilson's contract. The total cost of the buyout, in a financially-strapped system, is estimated to be $200,000. The vote was 7-1, with the four black members and one white member of the committee walking out before the vote. Wilson was hired to the Boston post in 1985. He attended a Rockefeller Foundation program in 1970 to train minority school superintendents, and became the first black superintendent in three cities before his Boston appointment: Berkeley, California; Hempstead, N.Y.; and Rochester, N.Y.

Wilson has been accused of having a confrontational style, of aggressively pursuing other jobs since 1987, and of failing to improve low test scores and high dropout rates. The committee voted 7-6 in Wilson's June 1989 professional review to place him under a recurring six-month review based on ten performance criteria. Boston schools have had eight superintendents in nineteen years.

Both Wilson and the committee members who boycotted the vote charge that the performance criteria weren't used in deciding on his dismissal. Boston NAACP President **LOUIS ELISHA** called the firing "a blatant act of racism." White school committee member **JOHN GRADY** called it a "lynching," and black committee member **JOHN O'BRYANT** said "there are those who can't deal with a strong black man as the leader of Boston's schools."

Of the 55,000 students in the city's schools, 75 percent are minority (black, Hispanic, and Asian). The four black members of the School Committee have demanded that, as representatives of the minority community, they should have a voice in selecting Wilson's interim replacement. Boston had an all-white, five-member board before installing a 13-member board in 1983. Four of the 13 members are elected at-large. Local observers speculate that Wilson's firing may become an issue in School Committee elections this year.

Southern Black Mayors Receiving Leadership Training

In an effort to provide technical assistance to black mayors and top administrative officials of small cities and towns, the Washington-based National Forum for Black Public Administrators (NFBPA) has established the Leadership Institute for Small Municipalities. Since few resources are available to help black may-

ors untangle the problems of governing small municipalities, the institute's training program focuses on seven skill areas: grantsmanship; economic development skills; team building; negotiation; management and administration; leadership; and image building and the ethics of holding office.

The institute conducts its training at local universities in five weekend sessions spread over ten weeks. Typically, the participants are part-time and/or unpaid mayors with full-time jobs outside city hall. One such elected official is **GEORGE BARNES,** two-term mayor of Wabbaseka, Arkansas, population 428. Barnes, who is also on the town's school board, is a part-time Baptist minister and a full-time salesman at an automobile tire company in nearby Pine Bluff.

The median size of the communities in which these officials work is 1,200 people. With the passage of the Voting Rights Act in 1965, a steady stream of blacks have come to occupy the city halls of small southern towns. **Alabama, Arkansas, and Mississippi, for example, now have 85 black mayors among them. Yet many of these officials are inexperienced. "It's unreasonable to expect a person to automatically know how to run a city after having no prior electoral experience," says QUENTIN LAWSON, executive director of NFBPA. "Our position is that if technical assistance is not provided, at the end of a four-year-term, a black mayor is likely to be no better than his white predecessor. As a result, the hopes and aspirations of his or her black constituents will be frustrated and they may revert to political apathy."**

The first set of training workshops began in October 1989, and the program is expected to continue for at least three years. Officials from Alabama and Mississippi were in the first group. These lower Delta Valley mayors face the same challenges: low educational levels, an unskilled work force, declining economies, and what has come to be known as the hourglass phenomenon—a declining population in which only the very young and very old remain. The first group of graduates (10 mayors and 14 administrators) completed their training in December 1989. Twenty-four additional mayors and administrative officials from Mississippi and Arkansas graduated March 25.

According to Dr. ARCHIE MORRIS III, project director of the Leadership Institute, economic development is one of the most pressing training needs because "most small towns are experiencing problems in raising sufficient revenues and providing jobs for their citizens." Dr. Morris also notes that the most recent participants showed a keen interest in the ethics of holding office and have recommended that the institute address conflict-of-interest situations.

Over the next three years, the Leadership Institute expects to train 90 black mayors and their top administrative staff in 10 additional states that have more than 10 black mayors apiece in: Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina, North Carolina, Missouri, Oklahoma, Ohio, Michigan, and Illinois. The Leadership Institute is funded under a $450,000 grant from the W.W. Kellogg Foundation. Established in 1983, NFBPA now has 2,300 members. Its stated mission is to "strengthen the capabilities of black public administrators and to promote the appointment of blacks to executive positions in local governments."

Updates on Recent TrendLetter Stories

- **CLARENCE THOMAS was confirmed March 6 by a voice vote of the Senate to a judgeship on the U.S. District Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit Court.** The only opposition expressed during the floor debate came from Democratic senators **HOWARD METZENBAUM** (Ohio) and **DAVID PRYOR** (Arkansas) who criticized Thomas's handling of age discrimination cases during his eight-year tenure as chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). Thomas's confirmation was expected to be controversial (see Trendletter, volume 17 nos. 8 & 9, 1989) because of objections arising from his expressed disapproval of affirmative action and perceived lack of vigilance as EEOC chief in processing age and race discrimination claims. However, the Judiciary Committee sent his nomination to the Senate floor with a 12-to-1 favorable vote. **A concern of some black and public interest groups opposed to his confirmation was that the appellate judgeship could pave the way for Thomas's nomination to the U.S. Supreme Court.**

- **JOHN DUNNE was confirmed as assistant attorney general for civil rights (see Political Trendletter, January 1990) on March 9.** The Senate Judiciary Committee approved the former New York state senator's nomination in a voice vote a day earlier. His Senate confirmation has been greeted with dismay by civil rights leaders who argue that President Bush should have appointed a black person with more civil rights experience rather than a white environmental lawyer.

Across the Nation

ARIZONA: COY PAYNE, sworn in on March 8 as mayor of Chandler (about 30 miles southeast of Phoenix), has become the first black executive of an Arizona city. Payne is a retired junior high school principal who previously served as vice-mayor and member of the Chandler City Council. He defeated white councilwoman JANE DuCOMB by a two-to-one margin on January 23, garnering 65 percent of the vote. What is unusual about Payne's victory is that it occurred in a city of approximately 81,000 residents with a black population of less than five percent.

The election became, in part, a referendum on development. DuComb ran as a pro-development candidate while Payne favors slow growth for Chandler, which has already expanded to almost three times its 1980 population of 29,673. Payne supports limiting airport expansion, for example.

That Payne won where he did is also surprising. Chandler is located in East Valley, a region with a large Mormon population that is perceived to be politically conservative. East Valley is also the home of architect JULIAN SANDERS, who led the successful movement last year to place the state's Martin Luther King holiday on hold until the matter is decided in a referendum in next November's election.

Including Payne, Arizona now has 12 black elected officials. They include three state legislators, three city council members, and five education officials.

CALIFORNIA: After serving 14 years in the California State Assembly, Los Angeles Democrat MAXINE WATERS is running for the 29th congressional district seat of retiring U.S. Rep. AUGUSTUS HAWKINS, a 14-term Democrat. At 82 years of age, Hawkins is the most senior black legislator in Congress. First elected in 1962, he rose through the ranks and by 1984 had become chairman of the important House Education and Labor Committee. Hawkins was the prime mover of the Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act passed in 1977, and has been instrumental in the passage of numerous education and child development bills. **Following Hawkins' example, Waters, who worked in the Head Start program before being elected to the state assembly in 1976, has vowed in her campaign to make education "number one on our agenda."**

The 29th district, which gave presidential candidate **MICHAEL DUKAKIS** 80 percent of its vote in 1988, is considered the most heavily Democratic district in California. It includes part of the City of Los Angeles, whose Watts community was the scene of one of the most destructive riots of the 1960s. Living conditions for Watts residents have improved little since then, with continuing high rates of poverty, crime, and unemployment.

A forcefully articulate and aggressive leader, Waters has become a major political force in the state. She was the first woman elected to chair the Democratic Caucus, one of the highest leadership positions in the state assembly. Her legislative initiatives have resulted in the divestment of state funds from corporations doing business in South Africa and in the creation of the nation's first statewide child abuse prevention training program. And as chair of the Assembly Ways and Means Subcommittee on State Administration, Waters helped establish minority and women set-asides for state procurement contracts.

If elected, Waters should have little trouble adjusting to Washington politics. She is a member of the Democratic National Committee and the National Women's Political Caucus and was also an outspoken supporter of JESSE JACKSON in the 1984 and 1988 presidential campaigns. In the June 5 primary, Waters will face three little known Democrats: **LIONEL ALLEN**, a naval veteran, **TWAIN WILSON**, a businessman, and **TED ANDROMIDAS**, a political consultant.

MARYLAND: Former Detroit Congressman CHARLES DIGGS has announced that he will enter the September 11 primary for a Prince Georges County seat in the Maryland House of Delegates. Black incumbent GLORIA LAWLAH is giving up her seat to run for the state senate. Diggs, a Democrat, was a founding member and first chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, having served in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1955 until his resignation in 1980, when he was convicted for taking payroll kickbacks from his congressional employees. Following his conviction, he served seven months of a three-year prison sentence.

Diggs once presided over the House District Committee, and as chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa he was an ardent foe of South Africa's system of apartheid. He also helped found TransAfrica, the black-American foreign affairs lobby. Before his tenure in Congress, where he represented an inner-city Detroit district, Diggs had served two terms as a Michigan state senator. A licenced mortician, since leaving Congress he has acquired four funeral homes in Maryland, Virginia, and the District of Columbia.

Declaring that he only wants the seat for one term, Diggs says his main reason for running in what promises to be a crowded field, "is to be in a strategic position in Annapolis during the reapportionment process in 1991 and 1992." He urges black state legislators across the nation to prepare to participate fully in the upcoming redistricting struggle. Although Maryland is not expected to gain any congressional seats after reapportionment, state and local election districts will certainly be redrawn. Prince Georges County, whose black population has grown dramatically over the last decade, offers real opportunities for the creation of a majority black congressional district. The county lies in the 5th district, currently represented by five-term Democrat STENY HOYER, who is white. Hoyer chairs the House Democratic Caucus and ranks fourth in the House majority leadership.

OHIO: Black Republican J. KENNETH BLACKWELL has resigned his post in the Bush administration to run for Congress from Ohio's 1st district in Cincinnati. Blackwell, who was deputy undersecretary for intergovernmental relations at the Department of Housing and Urban Development, previously served as Cincinnati's mayor and for six terms as city council member. He is pursuing the seat of retiring Democratic Rep. THOMAS LUKEN, who has represented the district since 1976.

The 1st district, which encompasses western Cincinnati and suburban Hamilton County, is only 18 percent black. By appealing to a diverse cross-section of voters, Luken has been elected to seven terms in a district that has supported Republicans in presidential elections since 1980. In 1988, President **GEORGE BUSH** received 63 percent of the district's vote. Cincinnati's blacks (40 percent of the district's vote comes from Cincinnati), conservative suburban German Catholics, and whites from rural Appalachia have all contributed to Luken's victories.

Blackwell is likely to attract black voters as well as a large portion of the district's conservative white voters. Nevertheless, his opposition will be formidable. In the November general election, Blackwell will probably face Cincinnati's current Democratic Mayor CHARLES LUKEN, the son of the retiring congressman.

Louis Martin, the Godfather

As Its First Chairman, Martin Guided the Joint Center Through Difficult Beginnings, and for 20 Years His Counsel Has Proven Invaluable

by David C. Ruffin

While many were present at the Joint Center's birth, it was the hand of Louis Martin that guided the fledgling institution through its earliest years. Martin's stature as the nation's most politically experienced black leader at that time made him the natural choice to head the Joint Center's board of governors.

Born in Shelbyville, Tennessee, Martin graduated from the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor in 1934. In 1944, he gained rare political experience as assistant publicity director for Franklin Roosevelt's reelection campaign. He took over, in 1947, as editor-in-chief of the *Chicago Defender*, a crusading black newspaper; it was a position he held for 12 years. Martin established close relationships with leading black scholars, activists, and political figures.

He returned to politics in 1960 as part of John F. Kennedy's presidential campaign team. Just a few weeks before the November election, Martin convinced Robert Kennedy, who was running his brother's campaign, to call Judge Oscar Mitchell and persuade him to release Martin Luther King from an Atlanta jail. King, who had been arrested for joining students during a sit-in at segregated shops and restaurants across the South, was freed a day later. This behind-the-scenes maneuvering was typical Louis Martin and reflected his negotiating skill.

The same year, Martin was appointed deputy chairman of the Democratic National Committee, a position he held until 1969. During his tenure he served as liaison between the black community and the White House. Both presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson relied heavily on his advice concerning issues affecting black Americans. By mid-decade, Martin had become known as the "Godfather of black politics."

To the Ballot Box—March!

It became clear to Martin that with the passage of the Voting Rights Act, black political participation would pass from the civil rights movement to electoral politics. The number of black elected officials had jumped from about 300 in 1964 to more than 1,200 in 1969. "Those were exciting days," Martin now reflects, "yet despite all the political activity, there was no institution that could provide factual data and political analysis. There wasn't a place in Washington that a black mayor from a small Southern town could call up to get the answer to the question: Where can I get some money to pave the streets?"

When noted black social psychologist Kenneth Clark and a core of leading black politicians, intellectuals, and activists created the Joint Center in 1970, Louis Martin was the obvious choice to chair the board of the new organization. With major funding from the Ford Foundation, the Joint Center became a non-partisan clearinghouse for political information and activities that could develop a clear blueprint for sustained political participation.

Two early items on the Joint Center's agenda were to promote black voter participation and to provide technical assistance to newly elected black office holders—both part of Martin's dream for the future. In his view, working for political progress "in the courts with judges and in the streets with marchers" had already become a conventional road. "After the Voting Rights Act," he recalls, "we learned that we could mobilize our own power through the electoral process and that the most successful march a person could take was to the ballot box."

With its focus on electoral politics, the Joint Center was "drawing a bigger circle," as Martin is fond of saying, to expand the possibilities for political participation. "Louis Martin is an includer," says Eleanor Farrar, who was one of the Joint Center's first board members. "His skills at bringing people together around ideas and issues were particularly important."

Lunch on the Mountaintop

In 1972, when the Joint Center was looking for a president to head the organization, it was decided to invite Eddie N. Williams, then vice president for public affairs at the University of Chicago, to take up the post. But Williams needed convincing. That was a job for Louis Martin—the great persuader. In the course of a lunch meeting, Martin remembers, "I told Eddie that he would have the freedom to use his creativity to shape a unique political institution, and we would support him." Martin informed him too of the considerable financial resources the Ford Foundation had already committed to the organization. The venue for the tete-a-tete was the Press Room high atop one of Chicago's finer hotels, the St. Clair. "I took him to the mountaintop and showed him the future," says Martin. That was enough. Williams was convinced, and he has been with the Joint Center ever since.

Martin takes great pride in the Joint Center's achievements and has remained a member of its board of governors. To this day he thrives on talking politics. More often than not, he ends conversations with the words that have become his own signature: "You are a great American." ■

Mr. Ruffin is the editor of *Focus* magazine.

A History of the Joint Center 1970–1990

For 20 Years, the Joint Center Has Led the Way, Through Its Policy Research, to Make American Political, Economic, and Social Institutions More Responsive to the Concerns of African-Americans

by Darlene Clark Hine

The twenty-year history of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies is as much an overview of the transition blacks have made from protest to politics as a chronicle of the creation and evolution of a unique institution. Created by black intellectuals, professionals, and politicians with initial funding from the Ford Foundation, the Joint Center has eased blacks' transition from civil rights protesters to participants in mainstream politics. At a critical juncture in the quest for full participation in American society, the Joint Center helped devise strategies for changing political and economic realities.

The successes of the civil rights movement are indisputable. New laws, effective enforcement, Supreme Court decisions, and the growth of a national consensus against racial inequality helped to change the legal status of black Americans. Many members of the black community poised to take advantage of the new educational and employment opportunities soon became part of an expanding black middle class.

The political landscape, too, was changing, mainly because of passage in 1965 of the Voting Rights Act. Assured of federal protection, thousands of black citizens across the South voted for the first time. This upsurge of political activity gave rise to a new presence—the black elected official. In 1964, the year before the Voting Rights Act, only about 300 blacks held elective office. By September 1969 the figure had leaped to more than 1,200. Many of these freshly minted state and local officials, school board members, county commissioners, and their supporters were eager to develop networks and make contacts for professional and moral support, or simply to learn more about the political process and how to use it to benefit their constituencies. At the same time, other black leaders, intellectuals, activists, and foundation executives foresaw the need to forge a collective awareness of politics as the means of achieving black economic and social progress.

In 1969 Kenneth Clark, the distinguished black social psychologist who was president of the Metropolitan Applied Research Center (MARC) and one of the founders of the Joint Center, captured this increased emphasis on political participation. He declared, "Elected Negro officials are now the only civil rights leaders who are...elected by their people to speak for them."

The Doors Open

Two conferences—one in Chicago in 1967 and the other in Washington, D.C., in 1969—brought many of those officials together and laid the groundwork for a new institution responsive to the needs of that new cadre of black leaders. The Washington conference was attended by more than 250 elected officials representing all regions of the country and most levels of office.

Both conferences were successful, and by the end of the Washington meeting expectations among black elected officials ran high. They sensed that the time to move ahead had come, and were convinced that what they needed was a permanent organization to enhance their effectiveness as representatives of their constituents and leaders of their communities. On April 20, 1970, the Ford Foundation, which had funded both conferences and encouraged exploratory talks about creating an organization to support the new black leadership, agreed to provide a two-year grant of $820,000 to establish such an organization.

On July 1, 1970, the newly christened Joint Center for Political Studies opened its offices in downtown Washington, D.C., under the *joint* sponsorship of MARC and Howard University. MARC provided oversight on program activities and Howard was responsible for the Center's fiscal affairs. Frank D. Reeves, political activist, civil rights attorney, and professor at Howard Law School, was installed as executive director. The original board of governors consisted of two representatives of MARC, Kenneth Clark and Eleanor Farrar (vice president of MARC and director of its Washington office); two representatives of Howard University, President James Cheek and Vice President for Academic Affairs Andrew Billingsley; and Louis Martin, editor in chief of the *Chicago Defender*, who was elected board chairman. Best known for his years of behind-the-scenes political activities as a member of the Democratic National Committee and of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, Martin was a critical link between white politicians and the black community.

Dr. Darlene Clark Hine is the John A. Hannah Professor of History at Michigan State University and author of the forthcoming history, *The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, 1970-1990: A Catalyst for Change.*

During the early years, fulfillment of the mission consisted of much hands-on training and customized technical assistance. By 1974, a multiyear grant from the U.S. Civil Service Commission enabled the Joint Center to conduct training sessions on administration, planning, and budgeting for black elected officials in various regions of the country. Frequently the sessions provided facts and figures about new—or not so new—federal programs for which local jurisdictions were eligible. "How to" sessions explained the mysteries of applying for federal grants, and many a council member discovered that understanding a city budget did not require a business school degree.

> *By early 1981, the Joint Center was on the road to a major transformation into a public policy institution to engage business and labor leaders, scholars, journalists, and public officials—black and white—in research and discussion of vital issues affecting the black population and the society as a whole.*

Another Joint Center activity aimed at informing, assisting, and supporting black elected officials in their search for influence and success was the compilation and publication of the *National Roster of Black Elected Officials*. The *Roster*, published first in 1970 and annually since then, lists the name, address, title of office, date of election, and term of office of every black elected official in the United States. A similar Joint Center publication that serves to keep black elected officials in touch is the *Guide to Black Politics*, a quadrennial handbook for delegates to the Democratic and Republican national conventions.

From the beginning, the Joint Center encouraged black officeholders to participate actively in national organizations devoted to their levels of office and to form black caucuses where appropriate. The Congressional Black Caucus, consisting of all black members of the House of Representatives, came into existence at the same time as the Joint Center. The six other caucuses of black elected officials—covering local, county, state, and federal offices—came on the scene during the 1970s with the active support and assistance of the Joint Center and have remained in close contact ever since.

The history of the Joint Center's political publications mirrors the history of the ideologies, strategies, and informational needs of black politicians. Publications such as *The Making of a Black Mayor* by John Dean (1973) and *Municipal Budgeting: A Primer for Elected Officials* by Jesse Burkhead and Paul Bringewatt (1977) addressed the needs of black officials for basic information on political techniques and management. Some of the more recent publications, however, such as *Strategies for Mobilizing Black Voters*, edited by Thomas E. Cavanagh (1987), and *Tom Bradley's Campaigns for Governor*, by Thomas F. Pettigrew and Denise A. Alston (1988), pay considerable attention to the impact of the black electorate and to the kinds of political strategies that win support from both black and white voters.

While the Joint Center's chief executive, Frank Reeves (1970-1972), concentrated on making the Joint Center known within the black community, its second (and current) executive, Eddie Williams, has been committed to building a permanent institution. Williams, a past assistant to Senator Hubert H. Humphrey and a former State Department officer, came to the Joint Center from the University of Chicago where he was vice president for public affairs and director of the Center for Policy Studies. A former journalist with a keen interest in communications and media relations, Williams began his tenure by creating *Focus* magazine.

Free-Standing and Independent

Williams believed that the Joint Center's continued dependence on Howard University limited its development. He also realized that future expansion of the organization would require diversification of its funding base. He began to look more carefully at opportunities to secure contracts and grants from federal agencies, foundations, and major corporations. The board of governors agreed with Williams that the Joint Center should become an independent entity. In 1976 the Joint Center for Political Studies was incorporated in the District of Columbia as a free-standing, tax-exempt institution.

Williams strengthened the Joint Center in other ways as well. He enlarged the research and publications programs, recruited Eleanor Farrar from her position at MARC to become vice president of the Joint Center in 1974, and carefully cultivated a staff of highly trained researchers, analysts, and administrators. He engaged outside experts as fellows, authors, and advisors. He encouraged his colleagues to participate in professional meetings, present papers and lectures, respond to media requests, and develop new ideas and programs. The Joint Center's election coverage became more sophisticated, and its political analysis attracted national attention and respect.

By the late 1970s it had become evident that although the number and expertise of black elected officials had steadily increased, this did not translate easily into public policies that improved living conditions within the black community. As a result, black Americans showed a marked shift in their priorities and concerns. No longer were they troubled by lack of access to the ballot or to public accommodations. Now aspirations turned to achieving economic and social progress. Moreover, a host of social ills threatened to render illusory the gains made in the political arena. These changes in the perceptions and needs of black Americans, along with a more conservative national mood, convinced the Joint Center that it needed to reexamine its priorities and programs and, where appropriate, redirect its efforts. The Joint Center solicited the views

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A History of the Joint Center: 1970–1990

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and advice of many individuals inside and outside the organization.

A Full-Fledged Think-Tank

By early 1981, the Joint Center was on the road to a major transformation into a public policy institution. Williams described the changed emphasis as an attempt "to engage business and labor leaders, scholars, journalists, and public officials—black and white—in research and discussion of vital issues affecting the black population and the society as a whole; to provide a forum for appraising policy alternatives and for shaping public policies at all levels of government; and to disseminate findings and recommendations to a broad and diverse audience."

The transformation from a technical assistance organization to a public policy institution sparked some apprehensions among black elected officials. Some feared any deemphasis of the assistance so long provided. But Williams reassured them that because of their special role in public policy, they would continue to be both a special constituency and a unique source of ideas for the Joint Center's research agenda.

Changes were taking place, meanwhile, among black elected officials themselves. The pragmatic black politicians of the 1980s, adept in the art and practice of cross-over politics, scarcely resembled their counterparts of the 1960s. They came from much stronger educational and career backgrounds and most were ready and able to appeal to voters across racial lines. The recent elections of David Dinkins as mayor of New York City and L. Douglas Wilder as governor of Virginia confirm this assessment.

What also helped to reassure black elected officials was the continuing close relationship between the Joint Center and their own caucuses. National Policy Institutes continued to be cosponsored by the Joint Center and those organizations. In fact, the national meetings have been regularized; they are now convened every four years in the winter preceding a presidential election. What has changed is the decreased emphasis at these meetings on skills training and the increased emphasis on public policy issues. This change is also reflected in the creation of the office of the National Policy Institute (NPI) at the Joint Center to provide assistance to black elected officials. NPI is the Joint Center's permanent link to black elected officials.

The Joint Center continues to enlarge its scope and vision. During the 1980s it greatly enhanced its research program in economic policy studies and in international affairs. Today the Joint Center's work is increasingly grounded in the belief that the fulcrum of black economic advancement is the distribution of resources and economic opportunities. The immutable connection in American society between political participation and the distribution of economic benefits is well established. Yet, as the Joint Center's research staff has documented, the widening gap in economic well-being between blacks and whites is among the more glaring evidences of society's unfulfilled commitment to equal opportunity.

As one looks back over the first twenty years of the Joint Center, what stands out are the contributions the organization has made in two important areas: the many different types of assistance it has provided to black elected officials, black leaders, and other members of its core constituency; and the perspective on public policy issues which it has introduced into the national dialogue. The Joint Center has demonstrated that blacks are a major force in American politics and that the society and its institutions must become more aware of and responsive to the concerns of African Americans. The Joint Center's past contributions and successes put it on a promising course for future distinguished service in the national interest. ■

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Assessing the Peace Dividend

Those Debating How to Reduce the Size of the Military In Light of Dramatic Changes in Eastern Europe, Should Consider How Blacks in Uniform Will Be Affected

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Leadership and After-Dinner Questions

On April 4, the Joint Center had the most exhilarating experience of its 20-year history. We had 1,300 of our dearest and nearest friends over to dinner at the Washington Hilton Hotel to kick off the celebration of our 20th anniversary. President and Mrs. Bush, Governor L. Douglas Wilder, Xerox CEO David Kearns, and Vernon Jordan were among those kind enough to help us mark the occasion.

One always has high hopes and deep anxieties over affairs like this—keep the program on schedule, don't let the food be served cold or late. Perhaps most of all, you pray that the affair doesn't turn out to be just another Washington dinner. Well, none of that happened to the Joint Center. In fact, the evening turned out to be one of Washington's most memorable occasions—an ecumenical affair with pleasant blends of politics, race relations, media events, and international and domestic policy.

There was President Bush standing behind the "Blue Goose" (the portable White House podium) saying, "I would use this bully pulpit to condemn in the strongest terms racism, bigotry, and hate." These words—strong by GOP standards—were addressed to a leadership audience concerned about the advancement of black Americans. The words stood in stark contrast to the Reagan administration's tepid commitment to civil and human rights.

By declaring that he accepts the challenge of having his administration live up to the "highest ideals of the civil rights movement," Mr. Bush appeared to signal that his presidency is returning to a concern for civil rights—the measure of which will probably be gauged this year when civil rights legislation is presented to him for signature.

President Bush never stood in greater contrast to his predecessor, Ronald Reagan, than when he agreed to meet black leaders early in his administration and when he actually used the presidency as a bully pulpit against bigotry, racism, and hate. It is difficult to imagine Reagan exclaiming, as Bush did at our dinner, that he foresees the day when a black man or woman will occupy the White House as president.

Bush's words may be more prophetic than he knows. Following him on our 20th anniversary dinner program was Virginia's L. Douglas Wilder, the first black elected governor, who spoke of individual freedom, fiscal responsibility, and the emergence of a new American mainstream. These "mainstream" words excited the media and titillated political analysts. Some people speculated aloud that perhaps Mr. Wilder isn't finished making history.

All wasn't politics at the dinner. David Kearns, chairman and CEO of one of the nation's biggest companies, spoke of his commitment to the education of disadvantaged youth. At a time when newspaper headlines are full of "junk bond" deals and other forms of fraud, Kearns' brand of corporate leadership was most welcome.

All these good words said over steak and salmon on a pleasant spring evening, however, begged some inevitable questions. For example, isn't it odd that while George Bush was embracing civil rights, his attorney general was counseling him to veto the Civil Rights Act of 1990? As Gov. Wilder espouses fiscal integrity, how do we rescue America's poor, who are mainly minorities? And how many of Mr. Kearns' corporate counterparts will join him as he works to equip young Americans with a competitive education? These are but a few of the questions that would rush to the fore in any forum that included President Bush, Governor Wilder, and Chairman Kearns.

As gratifying as the Joint Center's dinner was, it's asking these tough after-dinner questions that makes us a think tank of the first order. And it's helping to answer them that will justify the public support we receive over the *next* 20 years. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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Assessing the Peace Dividend

Those Debating How to Reduce the Size of the Military In Light of Dramatic Changes in Eastern Europe, Should Consider How Blacks in Uniform Will Be Affected

by Edwin Dorn

Over the next few years, the Department of Defense (DoD) could close or restructure some 90 military bases in the United States, curtail dozens of weapons projects and cut active duty forces by as many as 300,000 people. These trends, if continued throughout the decade, would save hundreds of billions of dollars.

Political leaders already have begun to debate how those savings will be used. National Urban League President John Jacob suggests spending $150 billion on a "Marshall Plan" for the nation's cities; House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.) recommends deficit reduction; Senator Phil Gramm (R-Tex.) wants a tax cut; and President Bush proposes to reallocate about $800 million from the DoD budget to help Panama and Nicaragua. Indeed, growing enthusiasm about the peace dividend has itself created new pressure to bring down the defense budget.

This enthusiasm, nevertheless, needs to be tempered by three considerations. First, the Bush administration will strongly oppose rapid reductions. Second, some of the highly touted "savings" are simply the result of adjustments in earlier, unrealistically high DoD spending projections. Third, military spending reductions will have unsettling effects, at least in the short run, on many Americans whose livelihood is tied to defense. Personnel cuts, for example, would be felt quite sharply among minorities.

Defense Policy for a Changing World

Much of the pressure to cut the defense budget stems from the dramatic developments in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. In December 1988, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev announced major unilateral reductions in Soviet conventional forces. During 1989, hard-line communist regimes in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria, and East Germany were replaced by governments promising more open economic and political systems and better relations with Western Europe. While these developments are generally viewed in the West as welcome, they also have created new uncertainties. Ethnic clashes have broken out in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, and West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl has been slow to renounce claims to portions of the old German empire that now belong to Poland.

Observers disagree on what all this should mean for American defense spending. CIA Director William Webster has stated that changes in Eastern Europe are "irreversible," an assessment which, if correct, would diminish NATO's security concerns considerably and permit the U.S. to reduce its military presence in Western Europe. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney is less sanguine; he argues that precipitous U.S. military reductions are not warranted until the situation in Europe becomes clearer and more stable.

In any case, it is Cheney's cautious assessment that is reflected in the administration's FY 1991 budget, which asks Congress to authorize $295.1 billion for the Defense Department, several billion dollars more than Congress authorized for FY 1989 or 1990. (This figure does not include approximately $10 billion for defense-related activities outside DoD, e.g., the Energy Department's nuclear weapons program.)

Among those pressing for much larger reductions is the Defense Budget Task Force, a private group that includes several former high-level national security policy makers. In its March 1990 report, "Restructuring the US Military: Defense Needs in the 21st Century," the Task Force argues that "the Warsaw Pact has virtually disintegrated, with unilateral Soviet troop reductions under way and formerly subservient Soviet allies demanding the withdrawal of all Soviet troops." The Task Force goes on to recommend a 50 percent reduction in the defense budget between 1991 and the year 2000.

That reduction would yield huge savings, if compared with the spending proposal of DoD in April 1989. But DoD's spending projections probably were unrealistically high to begin with. Congress would not have authorized all the funds, even without the recent turn of events in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Political leaders should be careful, therefore, not to exaggerate the size of the peace dividend. To the extent that DoD's earlier spending plans were pie-in-the-sky, so are the projected savings.

(Continued on page 4)

Mr. Dorn is a deputy director of research at the Joint Center.

Assessing the Peace Dividend

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Cutting the Force

In the end, *how* DoD saves (or spends) money is almost as important as *how much* it saves. The most flexible part of the defense budget is the "current account," which includes spending on personnel, operations, and maintenance. Personnel is one of the most expensive items in the defense budget, and DoD can cut those outlays quickly through a reduction in force.

Right now, the heads of the military services and key members of Congress are locked in a debate over how much to reduce the force, how quickly to reduce it and, most importantly, whether DoD's plans take full account of the changing global situation. The armed services are beginning to think about major cuts but want to stretch them out over a long period. For example, in early April, Army Secretary Michael Stone and Army Chief of Staff General Carl Vuono announced plans to reduce Army personnel by 184,000, from 764,000 to 580,000; most of those reductions would occur between 1992 and 1997. The Army's plan may have been a response to House Armed Services Committee Chairman Les Aspin (D-Wisc.), who told Vuono in March that the Army's earlier restructuring plans were not deep enough or quick enough to satisfy Congress.

If Congress opts for a rapid reduction for all four services, the total active-duty military could lose about 300,000 people by 1994. This would be a reduction of 14 percent, from 2.1 to 1.8 million, over a very short period.

While the Defense Department could realize major savings by cutting personnel, a dollar saved from that portion of DoD's budget is not necessarily a dollar saved by the federal government. All veterans are entitled to unemployment benefits, and officers are entitled to severance pay. These costs would reduce the amount of money that can be saved in the short term, even with large personnel cuts.

The Teeth and the Tail

Since black Americans are statistically overrepresented in the active-duty military, they will be overrepresented in any large-scale force reductions. Blacks are 20 percent of the armed forces, so crude projections suggest that cutting forces by 300,000 would displace about 60,000 black men and women. The actual effects may be greater than that, because blacks comprise more than 28 percent of the Army, the service likely to undergo the largest and most rapid cuts.

Further, in relation to their overall 20 percent representation in the active forces, blacks are most prominent in those military specialties—support, supply, and administration—that are likely to experience the sharpest reductions. By comparison, they are not as overrepresented in combat jobs and are actually underrepresented in the more technical specialties.

The uneven distribution of blacks and Hispanics among the "high tech" military specialties is largely a result of the education they received before enlisting. During reductions, the armed services try to hang on to people in technical and combat slots (the military's "teeth") because they are expensive to train and hard to replace. Personnel in support jobs (the "tail") are more vulnerable.

Unfortunately, the skills that are not highly valued by the military are not highly valued by civilian employers, either. Thus, it is likely that many black and Hispanic veterans will suffer periods of unemployment while they search for a niche in the civilian economy; this would add to the already high unemployment rates in minority communities.

A smaller military also will mean fewer new recruits. Blacks join the armed forces in large numbers partly because the services offer opportunities unavailable in the civilian world. Unless the U.S. labor market improves greatly over the next few years, reduced access to the military will mean reduced options for tens of thousands of young black men and women.

Recommendations

As political leaders stake claims on the peace dividend, they should pay close attention to the shape they give it. Four recommendations follow.

First, political leaders should be cautious about supporting precipitous personnel reductions. There are sound military reasons to move slowly, especially with regard to U.S. conventional forces in Europe. Those forces offer a stabilizing, reassuring presence in an otherwise rapidly changing environment.

Second, DoD should be discouraged from starting huge *discretionary* procurement programs. New weapons systems carry long-range commitments, some of which are not readily apparent in annual defense budgets. An aircraft carrier might show up as a four billion dollar item in an authorization request, for example; but that figure does not include the carrier's 100 planes (about $40 million each), the dozen ships that escort it, a crew of 6,000 people, or the cost of operating and maintaining it for 20 to 30 years.

Third, Congress should be encouraged to support transition programs that help veterans prepare for the civilian labor force. The Congressional Black Caucus's alternative budget provides for this. Its proposal could be the basis for a broadly based conversion program that helps veterans as well as civilian workers at defense plants affected by military cutbacks. In this regard, organizations offering job training and placement services should work with DoD to tailor programs.

Most importantly, black Americans should contribute to a comprehensive reassessment of the nation's defense needs. The 1990s may turn out to be as profound as the decade following World War II in redefining this country's role in the world. We need new metaphors to replace "cold war" and "iron curtain," new doctrines to replace containment, and a new vision of America's place in the world. ■

April 1990

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Inside This Issue:

- **A federal court finds that Mississippi continues to run a dual university system for blacks and whites**
- **Five-term Representative George Crockett retires from Congress, leaving a legacy of 50 years of activism**
- **New Jersey Governor James Florio is pushing for a ban on assault weapons**

  Across the Nation: Leander Shaw will become chief justice of the Florida Supreme Court; Congressman Gus Savage wins in Illinois; Paul Bather and Al Brown are running for Congress in Kentucky; Howard Lee has been selected to be a state senator in North Carolina

Mississippi Must Speed Up the Desegregation of Its Universities

Mississippi, one of several southern states whose college desegregation plans are still being challenged, must dismantle its dual system of higher education in order to comply with a February decision by a panel of the U.S. 5th Circuit Court of Appeals. In simple terms, the state's system of higher education must enroll more black students at its historically white campuses and more white students at its historically black campuses. The court found that Mississippi's open admissions policy, in place since 1962, has been inadequate to achieve these goals.

Plaintiffs in the 14-year-old lawsuit, *Ayers* v. *Allaine,* contend that the state continues to maintain separate and unequal universities for whites and blacks in violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The suit charges that disparities in funding and lack of integration have persisted among the state's eight public institutions. Progress in reversing decades of segregation and funding inequities has been limited. The Mississippi university system includes five historically white schools—the University of Mississippi, Mississippi State, Southern Mississippi, Delta State, and Mississippi University for Women; and three historically black schools—Alcorn State, Jackson State, and Mississippi Valley State.

In explaining the persistence of the disparities, administrators at black institutions complain that white students reject their schools because they have poorly maintained buildings and limited curricula as compared with the state's white schools, whose administrators decry the lack of resources to aggressively recruit black students and black faculty. In short, educators at all the institutions say that to further desegregate, they need more money.

Responding to the circuit court ruling, Mississippi's 12-member College Board, including its four black members, voted unanimously to appeal. The Board, which allocated $191.9 million among the eight institutions in 1989-90, says that its recent efforts to equalize funding and increase enrollments show it is doing all it can. Even so, about 70 percent of the funding for that academic year went to the three largest historically white universities. Furthermore, the funding inequities of earlier years, which resulted in deteriorated buildings and inadequate programs at black campuses, have not been corrected.

State commissioner of higher education, RAY CLEESE, claims that Mississippi "is leading the South in efforts to bring minority students into the mainstream on our campuses." The Black Mississippian Council for Higher Education, nevertheless, expresses disappointment at the Board's action. The Council sees the Board's refusal to acknowledge inequities as a delaying tactic. And black State Sen. DOUGLAS ANDERSON, from the city of Jackson, warns that "if the state of Mississippi continues with its tradition, it will delay any changes as long as possible."

The Council and other groups have offered recommendations to the College Board for improving the university system, including: an increase in financial support for historically black universities to compensate for past inequi-

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ties; stronger efforts to enroll blacks at white institutions; tuition breaks and more scholarship dollars for minorities; and an expansion in the number of graduate programs, faculty, and facilities at black schools. Recently the circuit vacated the panel's February ruling and decided that the entire circuit will rehear the case in June. Legislative remedies already being informally discussed include pooled funding, restructuring, and establishment of a central administration for the entire university system.

Meanwhile, Louisiana, next door, is watching Mississippi closely to see how this suit is resolved. Louisiana has had an open-admissions policy at its public universities since 1964, but as in Mississippi, segregation has persisted. A federal district court panel has ruled that Louisiana is not doing enough to desegregate its 18-campus system. The state maintains racially-identifiable campuses of different institutions in the same city. For example, the New Orleans campus of black Southern University and the white University of New Orleans, a branch of Louisiana State University, face each other across the same street. Under a consent decree with the Justice Department entered in 1981, Louisiana had agreed to spend up to $100 million over a five-year period to enhance historically black Southern and Grambling universities. However, in 1987 the Justice Department reopened the case, charging that a dual system still existed and not enough money had been spent to equalize the universities.

Whether and how the Bush administration will pursue higher education cases like Mississippi's and Louisiana's, however, is far from clear. Early indications suggest that the new administration is tacitly following in the footsteps of President Reagan, whose administration did as much as possible to dismantle federal oversight of civil rights programs at state universities. In 1988, the Education Department chose to release four Southern states from 15 years of court-ordered desegregation review of their public universities, even though racial disparities among those schools had demonstrably worsened throughout the decade.

The "Judge" Retires from Congress

On March 28, Detroit Congressman GEORGE W. CROCKETT JR., known affectionately to his friends as the "judge," announced that he will retire from Congress, capping an illustrious 50-year career of activism and public service. City Councilwoman BARBARA ROSE COLLINS is the front runner in a growing field of candidates to replace Crockett in his 13th congressional district seat.

Crockett was first elected to Congress in 1980 to succeed **CHARLES DIGGS,** the first chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, and quickly rose to become chairman of the Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs. He used that position to oppose former president **RONALD REAGAN'S** support for the Nicaraguan contra rebels. In December 1989, Crockett, who represents a poor inner-city district, became the first member of Congress to call for the decriminalization of drugs, calling this "the only solution." He has also been an ardent opponent of the South African system of apartheid.

Born in Jacksonville, Florida, in 1909, Crockett was educated at Morehouse College in Atlanta. After earning a law degree from the University of Michigan in 1934, he came to national attention as a pioneering labor and civil rights lawyer. He became the first black lawyer at the U.S. Labor Department in 1943 and was later appointed hearing examiner of the Fair Employment Practices Commission, another black first. In 1944, he founded and directed the Fair Employment Practices Department of the United Auto Workers union.

In 1952, at the height of the McCarthy era, Crockett spent four months in federal prison for his aggressive courtroom defense of 11 members of the Communist party charged with attempting to overthrow the U.S. government in the Foley Square episode. United Auto Workers President **DOUGLAS FRASER** credits Crockett with being "a civil rights activist before civil rights was very popular." After leaving the U.A.W., Crockett served from 1966 to 1978 as a judge in Detroit Recorder's Court, where he gained a reputation for upholding the rights of those accused of crimes.

Now that Crockett is leaving Congress, his successor will have large shoes to fill. The August 7 Democratic primary in the predominantly black and heavily Democratic 13th district is likely to be crowded. Councilwoman Collins, who has already expressed an interest, came in second to Crockett in the 1988 Democratic primary. There she brought in 40 percent of the vote, just eight points behind Crockett. Three others who have indicated their intent to run are State Rep. JUANITA WATKINS, attorney MICHAEL PATTERSON, and CHARLES VINCENT, chief of general gynecology at Wayne State/Hutzel University Hospital. Several black state legislators may join the contest as well. Those seeking the seat face the prospect of the underpopulated district's being drastically redrawn, as Michigan is projected to lose two congressional seats in post-1990 Census redistricting.

New Jersey Governor Seeks to Ban Assault Weapons

On the morning of January 17, 1989, **PATRICK E. PURDY** opened fire on the Cleveland Elementary school yard in Stockton, California, with a Chinese-made AK-47 semiautomatic assault rifle. When the firing stopped, five children lay dead, and 28 other children and one teacher were wounded. In response to the senseless slaughter, the California state assembly enacted the nation's first statewide ban on assault weapons, which was signed by Governor **GEORGE DEUKMEJIAN** on May 24, 1989.

Following California's lead, New Jersey's Democratic Governor JAMES FLORIO is attempting to get his state's legislature to enact a similar law that would virtually eliminate semiautomatic assault weapons in New Jersey. He calls these guns, which are often used in drug-related slayings, "weapons of war." Florio's proposal for an assault weapon ban, senate bill S.166, is being sponsored by State Sen. JOHN F. RUSSO. The bill would require current owners of such guns to either sell them to buyers who live out of state, make them inoperable, or turn them in to authorities. These requirements must be met by the first day of the fourth month after the bill becomes law. Handgun Control, a public interest group that claims one million members, estimates that there are 200 million privately owned firearms in the U.S.; of these, 60 to 70 million are handguns and about *one million* are assault weapons. So far, 30 city and county governments have banned these guns. A nearly identical bill passed the state senate last year but was blocked by opponents in the state house.

Florio faces a tough battle, as the senate has been deluged by a letter writing and telephone campaign in opposition to S.166. The New Jersey measure is strongly opposed by gun enthusiasts and organizations like the National Rifle Association and the Coalition of New Jersey Sportsmen. Opponents protest the state's denying them ownership of such weapons as well as the lack of compensation for the guns currently owned by hobbyists. Although Florio has the support of all 21 county prosecutors and other law enforcement officials, the senate vote is expected to be close.

Child Care Bill Passed—Veto Expected

By the year 2000, 70 percent of all preschool-age youngsters in the nation will have working mothers, according to projections by the National Academy of Sciences' National Research Council. Recognizing the implications of this trend led Congress to begin drawing up daycare measures in 1988 and resulted in the passage of the Early Childhood Education and Development Act (H.R.3) by the House of Representatives on March 29 this year. If signed into law, the bill will expand and improve daycare for low-income children and have a $27 billion five-year price tag. Marian Wright Edelman, president of the Children's Defense Fund, characterized the bill as "a significant step closer to providing families the help they so urgently need."

Low-income families above the poverty level would pay for daycare on a sliding scale. Roughly a third of the measure's $10.5 billion in program spending would go toward expanding the successful Head Start program, allowing year-long, full-time attendance for already eligible children. The bill gives great latitude to parents in choosing daycare providers, and is especially designed to aid the "working poor." For the first time, the bill would bring into the Head Start program children whose families are above the poverty line but who earn less than $15,900.

The remaining two-thirds of the program funding is earmarked for state governments to create, expand, and improve daycare centers and after-school "latchkey" programs and to provide low-income working parents with vouchers to pay for the service of their choice. This two-thirds includes $2.1 billion which would go to school-based programs and another $2.9 billion for private and church-based programs. The earned-income tax credits provisions contained in the bill would cost $18.5 billion (including lost tax revenues) and would be available to every family with children that earns less than $20,270 a year.

The Senate version, the Act for Better Child Care Services (S.5), passed last June, would make state compliance with federal health and safety standards mandatory, but would give states more leeway than the House bill in deciding income eligibility levels for vouchers and other benefits. So far, no conference committee has been set up to work out the differences between the House and Senate versions of the bill.

Bush administration officials have called H.R.3 a case of "fiscal irresponsibility," and the White House has made it known that it will veto the measure. The bill did earn substantial Republican support in the House, but the final tally of 265-145 falls 25 votes short of the two-thirds majority needed to override a presidential veto. Whether the needed votes can be found by the time the President sees the bill is unclear.

Across the Nation

FLORIDA: When he is sworn in on July 1, LEANDER SHAW will become the first black jurist to serve as chief justice of the Florida Supreme Court. Appointed to the court in 1983 by then-governor (now U.S. senator) BOB GRAHAM, a Democrat, Shaw was unanimously elected this March by the other six justices to head the state's highest judicial panel for a two-year rotating term. (State supreme court justices serve for six-year terms.) Justice Shaw, 59, was born in Virginia and received his law degree from Howard University. He began his legal career in 1957 as a law professor at Florida A&M University. He has served in the Florida legal system as an assistant public defender, division head in charge of capital crimes in the office of the state attorney general, and district court appellate judge.

Shaw says he plans no dramatic changes. However, he is deputy chairperson of the 27-member state Racial and Ethnic Bias Study Commission which is holding public hearings to determine the extent of racism in the state's legal system.

Whether Shaw can complete his term as chief justice depends on the results of a yes-no merit retention question that will appear on the ballot this November. Since Shaw's term as a member of the court expires this year, Florida voters must decide whether he can remain on the bench for a second six-year term. Anti-abortion groups have targeted him for defeat because he joined the court majority that struck down the state's 1989 parental-consent abortion law. The controversial law required that unmarried minors obtain parental consent before undergoing an abortion. In its decision, the court ruled that a woman, adult or minor, may choose abortion within the first trimester of pregnancy.

ILLINOIS: Five-term U.S. Rep. GUS SAVAGE (D-Ill.) won his March 20 primary, gaining 51 percent of the vote against challenger MELVIN REYNOLDS' 43 percent. ERNEST WASHINGTON JR., a supporter of LYNDON LAROUCHE, received just over five percent of the votes. Since the 2nd district, on Chicago's South Side, is 66 percent black and overwhelmingly Democratic, winning the primary is tantamount to reelection for Savage.

The primary fight was bitter. Reynolds, a former administrator at the University of Illinois and a Rhodes scholar, hoped to benefit from Savage's record of missing critical congressional votes, including the 1989 vote to raise the minimum wage. Savage was also charged with sexually harassing a 28-year-old Peace Corps worker while on an official visit to Zaire. Reynolds, who was endorsed by both the *Chicago Tribune* and the *Chicago Sun-Times*, came closer to victory in this second attempt to defeat Savage than in 1988, when he received only 14 percent of the vote in a four-candidate primary.

Savage countered Reynolds' charge that he was an embarrassment to the district by claiming the white media were out to get him. Shortly before the primary election, Savage was endorsed at a Chicago rally by fellow Congressional Black Caucus members, Reps. WILLIAM GRAY (D-Pa.) and CHARLES RANGEL (D-N.Y.). A firestorm of controversy followed these endorsements when, in a speech during the rally, Savage criticized Reynolds for accepting large individual contributions from officials of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee. This remark, made after Gray and Rangel had left the rally, has been widely construed as anti-Semitic and will likely haunt Savage in coming years.

KENTUCKY: A black Democrat and a black Republican are gunning for 10-term Congressman ROMANO MAZZOLI's job. Former Jefferson County Treasurer PAUL C. BATHER, a black Democrat who has been a Louisville alderman since 1986, is opposing Mazzoli in the May 29 Democratic primary. Black GOP businessman AL BROWN is also vying for Mazzoli's seat. The 3rd congressional district includes Louisville and some of its suburbs.

Mazzoli is considered more vulnerable than ever before. He is perceived as distancing himself from his constituency by becoming more conservative in recent years, a change reflected in his opposition to abortion and his support for Reagan's massive federal budget cuts. He has also alienated Louisville's business community by not aggressively pursuing federal funding for the city's airport expansion and riverfront construction projects. In Congress, an angry House Democratic leadership removed him from his chairmanship of the Immigration, Refugees, and International Law Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee because he had sided with House Republicans on a number of key votes.

Mazzoli's opposition to busing students to achieve school desegregation could hurt him with black voters. Although the 3rd district is only 18 percent black, the majority of the district's vote comes from Louisville, which is 30 percent black. Mazzoli's Democratic challenger, Bather, is an advocate of U.S. aid to the African National Congress and supports restrictions on assault weapons and handguns. He may be helped by the fact that the primary is a three-candidate race. Some of Mazzoli's white support may be diverted to JEFFREY HUTTER, a white executive with the Humana Heart Institute. Hutter ran against Mazzoli in the 1988 primary and won 39 percent of the vote.

The winner of the Democratic primary could face black Republican businessman Al Brown, who has already raised more than $100,000 for his campaign. Brown, the founder of a business consulting firm, will be opposed in his party's primary by white businessman TIM HARDY.

NORTH CAROLINA: In March, black businessman HOWARD N. LEE was sworn in as a state senator. The former mayor of Chapel Hill was chosen by the 16th District Democratic Senatorial Select Committee to fill the unexpired term of WANDA HUNT who assumed the post of assistant chief of the state's Child Support Enforcement Program. When he was elected mayor in 1969, Lee became the first black person to govern a predominantly white Southern town, a position he held until 1975. Chapel Hill, where the University of North Carolina is located, was only 10 percent black at the time.

From 1977 to 1981, Lee served under former Governor **JAMES B. HUNT** as secretary of the Department of Natural Resources and Community Development. He failed, however, in his 1984 bid for Congress, and was defeated in the Democratic primary for the 4th district by the then incumbent **IKE ANDREWS.**

In November, Lee will face Republicans MAX GARDNER REECE, a pharmacist from Pittsboro, and WILLIAM BOYD, a car dealer from Asheboro, in the general election to secure a full two-year term in the senate. Since much of the district is rural, two of its four counties are heavily Republican, and less than 20 percent of its population is black, Lee will have a tough race. "This is the most significant political challenge I have ever faced," says Lee. "Our campaign message must be broad enough so that it doesn't turn off conservative Democrats. At the same time, we must attract some Republican voters." Lee's recent appointment increases to four the number of blacks in the state's 50-member senate.

New Brands of Racism on the Rise

While Racial Violence Continues to Endanger Americans, White Supremacist Groups Are Now Turning to the Pulpit, the Media, and Politics

by Jan Douglass and Leonard Zeskind

Last September, Joseph McDonald, a 24-year-old black man, was driving from the parking lot of a pizza parlor in El Cajon, California, with his wife and their young son when three white men blocked his car with theirs and shouted racist epithets. One came at McDonald with a large stick wrapped in a snake skin, another with a 2-by-2 wooden post. Fearing for the safety of his family, McDonald grabbed a tire iron from the trunk of his car to defend himself, swinging wildly while the three men rushed him, beating and kicking him.

McDonald had moved to California from his native Alabama to escape the dangers of racial violence, but such violence has been spreading like a cancer to every part of the country. Unfortunately, local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies are not adequately addressing the problem. A 1987 report on racial violence, "The Response of the Criminal Justice System to Bias Crime," prepared by Peter Finn and Taylor McNeil for the Justice Department's National Institute of Justice, concludes:

> There is plenty of documentation...that the problem is widespread, and considerable evidence that it is increasing.... For the most part, the criminal justice system—like the rest of society—has not recognized the seriousness of the hate violence problem.

While much of the violence, as Finn and McNeil document, seems to be carried out by "free-lance" haters, there is no question but that these people are emblematic of the white supremacist movement. This movement embraces hundreds of organizations, publications, churches, and social groups. Some elements consist of a single person with a post office box and a newsletter. Others, like the Liberty Lobby, are multimillion dollar enterprises with well developed infrastructures. While it is fragmented, the movement is held together by a belief in the innate superiority of "white" people and a desire to re-engineer society to ensure their absolute control.

Since its resurgence in the 1980s, the supremacist movement has begun to show signs that it is changing from a hard-core cadre operating on the margins of the right wing to one adopting mainstream political methods. Whatever form it assumes, it seriously threatens gains made in racial understanding and cooperation since the 1960s.

Resurgent White Supremacy

The victories of the civil rights movement in the Sixties left the Klan and other racist groups fractured and spent. George Wallace's use of the American Independent Party to legitimize racist populism as a national political movement enabled him to garner 10 million votes for the presidency in 1968. By 1972 his movement had splintered into insignificance, but before long, alarming new groups began to form. The Posse Comitatus, considered a terrorist organization by the Justice Department, and the Aryan Nations, which has run a paramilitary camp, mushroomed in the Midwest and West. As early as 1975, David Duke, now a Louisiana state legislator, was leading a media-savvy Knights of the Ku Klux Klan into towns and cities across the country. Duke's new Klan wore business suits instead of white sheets and held its meetings in the glare of media floodlights instead of in torch-lit cow pastures.

By the beginning of the 1980s, a resurgent Right was making racism part of the mainstream by building a new coalition of disparate single-issue groups. Parts of that same coalition moved into the Republican party, leading attacks on civil rights laws, enforcement agencies, and government supported programs for the poor.

Into the Mainstream

In the past, Klan and neo-Nazi strategy meant simply showing up in a town, sparking a racial confrontation, and disseminating raw racist propaganda. These groups therefore were recruiting new members from the already convinced. But they have recently been experimenting with a range of new strategies and tactics to move their message into the American mainstream.

In 1983, White Aryan Resistance leader Tom Metzger began producing half-hour, community-access cable television programs from his headquarters in Southern California. By 1987, he had produced over 45 different nationally syndicated "Race and Reason" programs. Most were talk show formats with other white supremacists.

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Ms. Douglass is deputy director for affiliate programs at the National Black Child Development Institute in Washington, D.C., and a board member of the Atlanta-based Center for Democratic Renewal. Mr. Zeskind is the director of research at the Center for Democratic Renewal.

New Brands of Racism on the Rise

(Continued from page 5)

It was commercial television, however, that made the neo-Nazi skinheads a household word. Last year Metzger's associates broke a chair over Geraldo Rivera's nose, on camera, during a talk show taping session that became a media sensation overnight. The publicity allowed the neo-Nazi skinheads to expand into cities and small towns previously untouched by their activity. Metzger's creative use of television gave white supremacists a larger platform than Klan marches could ever give.

> *Duke's new Klan wore business suits instead of white sheets and held its meetings in the glare of media floodlights instead of in torch-lit cow pastures.*

While Metzger and his skinheads operate in an overtly racist subculture of social rebels, the church-based "Identity" movement has many of the trappings of conventional religious institutions. According to a study conducted by the National Council of Churches Identity is a racist faith with a complete theology: blacks and other people of color are believed to be "pre-Adamic"—and therefore subhuman. Jews are regarded as children of the devil. The doctrine goes on: racial integration is a sin, Armageddon will be a race war in the United States, for which whites must prepare by stockpiling weapons, food, etc. The faithful will be redeemed when the U.S. becomes a white Christian republic.

By presenting itself to the public as a church rather than appearing in sheets or swastika arm-bands, Identity is able to appeal to a broad constituency. According to Idaho State University sociologist James Aho, "the danger to society from Identity exists precisely because it recruits from the mainstream of society rather than its margins." At the same time, Identity theology is the spiritual glue that helps bind together large portions of the white supremacist movement, including Klan factions, Christian patriots, and neo-Nazis.

Pete Peters of Ft. Collins, Colorado, one of the chief proponents of Identity theology, runs a nationwide radio ministry where he typically sermonizes against racial integration and for white racial purity. In addition to these sermons, which go out to 21 AM and FM stations in 18 states, Peters runs a summer and winter Bible camp. In 1988, he displayed new political muscle by leading a successful drive to vote down a gay rights ordinance in Ft. Collins. And in April 1989 he led a delegation of Identity ministers to lobby Congress against gun control.

Perhaps the most successful expansion of the white supremacist constituency has been led by Willis Carto, through his Washington, D.C., based Liberty Lobby and its affiliated weekly tabloid, *Spotlight*. Washington columnist Jack Anderson exposed *Spotlight* and Carto as antisemitic and connected to neo-Nazis the world over. Carto sued Anderson for defamation but lost.

Although *Spotlight* articles have promoted the White Patriot Party, the American Nazi Party, and the Posse Comitatus, the 24-page weekly is usually devoid of the more obscene racism found in other movement periodicals. According to U.S. postal records, more than 110,000 people are paid subscribers of *Spotlight*, while another 50,000 copies are distributed free or sold over the counter, extending the tabloid's readership far beyond the white supremacist movement's estimated 20,000 hard-core activists.

While the Liberty Lobby has not yet ventured into the use of community access cable TV, it has expanded into radio. It controls "North American 1," a radio station that broadcasts nationally through satellite dish hookups popular in remote rural areas, and in August 1989, acquired control of a nationwide 147-station radio network. Most of the stations are small—103 are 5,000 watts or less. But if the Liberty Lobby can keep the network financially solvent, it may have a springboard for launching into bigger media markets.

The Populist Party and David Duke

The most ambitious effort by Carto and *Spotlight* has been the formation of the Populist Party. Carto spent four years urging his followers to embrace a new populist agenda, which calls for abolition of the income tax, for states' rights with regard to public schools, and for what Carto refers to as universal freedom of choice with regard to property rights (in other words, reestablishing restrictive covenants to prevent the sale of homes to blacks and Jews.) These coded appeals to the resurrection of Jim Crow are only one step away from the neo-Nazi groups' appeal for an all-white Christian state, known among them as the Aryan Republic.

The Populist Party was launched in 1984, in time for the presidential campaign. Its first chairman was a former Invisible Empire Klan leader from Mississippi, Robert Weems. He was soon joined in the party's leadership by former Cincinnati Klansman Van Loman and by Jerrold Pope of the National States Rights Party. The Populist Party had pioneered a new approach for white supremacists: building bridges into mainstream communities through clever economic and political appeals. The group's literature claimed that it was the heir of George Wallace's 1968 anti-elite, white backlash vote. At a time of massive farm foreclosures in the Midwest, party organizers tried to win support among rural whites by offering to help save family farms.

Nevertheless, the Populist Party fared poorly in November 1984, running behind even the Libertarian Party, and fell into internal squabbling. When the party reorganized in 1986, it ran candidates as Democrats and Republicans as well as Populists and Independents. And in 1988 it made David Duke its presidential candidate.

Duke ran in the March 8 Super Tuesday primaries that year, appearing on the ballot as a Democrat in five states.

(Continued on back page)

GOP Woos Blacks for Redistricting Alliances

As States Gear Up to Redistrict Legislative Jurisdictions, the GOP Claims Their Party and Blacks Can Gain More Seats by Joining Forces

by Cheryl Miller

The Republican party, which is in the minority in every chamber of every Southern legislature, is looking for black and Hispanic allies for upcoming redistricting fights. It is unlikely that Republicans, who currently make up only 25 percent of state legislators in the South, will win enough new seats in the 1990 elections to control the redistricting process in any state below the Mason-Dixon line. Understanding this, the GOP is seeking to build coalitions with minority politicians as a way of increasing the party's leverage in 1991 when new legislative districts are drawn.

The Republicans theorize that since approximately 90 percent of blacks continue to identify with the Democratic party, concentrating them in one district dilutes the Democratic strength in other districts. Thus, the "whiter" non-majority black districts are, as the theory goes, the greater the opportunities they offer for Republican electoral success. "Too often, congressional and legislative lines are drawn by Democratic-controlled state legislatures that maintain the power status quo and lock out others—primarily Republicans, minorities, and especially African-Americans," says Thelma Duggin, director of national outreach at the Republican National Committee. The GOP speculates that the 24 black members of Congress could double their number as a result of the redistricting process.

Republican officials claim that the experience after the 1980 census demonstrates that in redistricting, blacks and Republicans can pursue common interests. One cited example is the successful challenge of Georgia's 1981 congressional redistricting plan. As an outcome of the challenge, the black population of the 5th congressional district in Atlanta expanded to 65 percent while the white suburban, Republican population of the 4th district in adjacent DeKalb county also grew. As a result, Pat Swindall, a conservative Republican, was able to defeat the 4th's moderate Democratic incumbent Elliott Levitas in 1984. (Swindall was in turn beaten by Democrat Ben Jones in 1988.) The 5th district is now represented by black Democratic Rep. John Lewis.

There is other evidence, however, that argues against the minority-GOP alliance model. In 1984, civil rights lawyers successfully sued to expand the black make-up of Mississippi's 2nd congressional district from 54 percent to 58 percent. Two years later, black Democrat Mike Espy defeated sitting Republican Webb Franklin in the newly configured district. Furthermore, the GOP was ultimately unable to make any more electoral headway as a result of the concentration of blacks in the 2nd district. All of Mississippi's current members of Congress are Democrats.

To induce minorities to participate in a redistricting alliance, Ben Ginsberg, chief legal counsel of the Republican National Committee, announced at its March Southern Leadership Conference meeting that the Republican Party will provide, on request, software to help minority community organizations draw redistricting maps.

Ginsberg asserts that the technology of redistricting has been simplified to such an extent that advocacy organizations armed with personal computers and appropriate software can create their own redistricting plans to respond to those drawn by other groups and by state legislatures. The Republican party would make its software available to organizations like the NAACP, the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation, as well as grass-roots groups. This overture is part of an announced effort by the Republican party to reach out more to blacks.

Sonia Jarvis, executive director of the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation located in Washington, D.C., says, "if the offer is without strings attached, we would be interested in looking at it. But we'd have problems with the offer if we are expected to use the software to come up with an intended result." She says that the decision to accept the GOP software should be made on a city-by-city basis because the appropriate coalitions for minorities vary in different jurisdictions.

It is not surprising that Democrats are skeptical of the GOP's extended hand. "Blacks shouldn't let the Republicans pull the wool over their eyes with lip service outreach," says Lottie Shackleford, vice president of the Democratic National Committee (DNC). The DNC has been operating its own technical assistance and training program to prepare black elected officials and community groups for the redistricting process.

"The offer of an alliance with the Republican party presents black politicians with a dilemma," says Milton Morris, director of research at the Joint Center. "If blacks move to expand the electoral opportunities of other black Democrats through redistricting, they actually may reduce their party's majorities in state legislatures." ■

Dr. Miller is a political science professor at the University of Maryland and a visiting scholar at the Joint Center.

New Brands of Racism on the Rise

(Continued from page 6)

Although he only garnered roughly 40,000 votes during the primary, 20,000 of those were from Louisiana, where he was best known. He campaigned all over the country against affirmative action, minority set-asides, crime, and taxes, but in the November general election, he only appeared on the ballot in 14 states.

The Populist Party still emerged with a sense of accomplishment. Duke gained a substantial national base of contributors, which he quickly plowed into a campaign for Louisiana representative. In February 1989, this time as a Republican, he was elected to the Louisiana House of Representatives from the 81st district in Metairie. According to a study by Dr. Lawrence Powell of Tulane University, Duke won some support from every stratum of Metairie's white population, but the core of his support was in the working-class district of Bucktown. There he was able to channel racial resentment and economic populism into a widespread electoral movement.

Duke's victory inspired Populist Party candidates to run for office in 1989 in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Tennessee, North Carolina, and California. But Duke's media savvy and charismatic personality are rare and it is unlikely that these other candidates can duplicate his success. They will nevertheless continue the drive to transform white supremacists from a small group of violent, white-robed terrorists to a sophisticated movement speaking the language of tax protest and white civil rights.

Duke officially announced his candidacy for the U.S. Senate from Louisiana on April 21, 1990. A poll conducted by the *Shreveport Journal* newspaper on March 9 showed Duke running a strong second behind three-term incumbent Democratic Senator J. Bennett Johnston. Duke polled 26 percent to Johnston's 32 percent. State Senator Ben Bagert got 17 percent and 25 percent were undecided. The open primary will be held on October 6.

A Call to Action

It is essential that people of conscience remain informed of the dangers the white supremacist movement represents to our society. Action, too, is necessary. In 1983, the Center for Constitutional Rights, the National Anti-Klan Network (now the Center for Democratic Renewal), and others sued the U.S. Department of Justice for failure to prosecute cases of civil rights violations involving racist violence. The lawsuit was eventually dismissed, but the clamor of public opinion forced the Reagan administration to apply existing laws and prosecute violators.

Most of the racially motivated vandalism, arson, and assault complaints, however, never make it to federal court, where civil rights cases are litigated. As a result, human rights activists have begun pushing for state laws against hate crimes. California, Maryland, Massachusetts, and other states have passed legislation to increase penalties for crimes from vandalism to murder. The Hate Crime Statistics Act, signed by President Bush this month, requires the Justice Department to collect statistics on crimes motivated by race, religion, ethnicity, or sexual preference.

In North Carolina, a statewide organization, North Carolinians Against Racist and Religious Violence, was formed in 1984 to assist victims of bigoted violence as well as to organize public opposition to white supremacist activity. In dozens of other locales, *ad hoc* coalitions have formed to protest Klan marches and racist attacks.

Longer jail terms and stiffer penalties, however, do not deter white supremacists from running for political office and conducting other legal activities such as lobbying Congress, buying radio stations, or organizing Bible camp conferences. Here, public education efforts are crucial. In Kansas City, Missouri, after an acrimonious public debate about the Klan's right to use community-access cable TV, the mayor convened a commission on hate group activities. The commission's report proposed passage of a city ordinance against hate crimes and an increase in public education about racism and bigotry.

In 1981, the National Education Association developed anti-Klan curricula for use by middle school and high school students. Some law enforcement officials have been conducting special training sessions on bias crimes and community-based coalitions. Nevertheless, without a reinvigorated, multiracial movement for racial justice, the response to white supremacists will be incomplete. ■

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The monthly magazine of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies®

Wilder and Jackson: Threads of One Cloth

Viewed From a Historical and Comparative Perspective,
Douglas Wilder and Jesse Jackson Have Far More in Common Than Pundits Suggest

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Black Males and the Drug Trade: New Entrepreneurs or New Illusions?

Joint Center Conferees Report That Urban Drug Dealers Are Largely Addicts
Who Earn Little by Their Trade and Fear Street Violence More Than Jail

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"I'm Not a Pork Barrel Politician"

On His 100th Day in Congress, U.S. Rep. Craig Washington From Houston
Discussed a Broad Range of Issues With Editor David Ruffin

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Perspective

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Restructuring Schools to Save Our Children

Few issues are of greater urgency to the nation today than the performance of our public schools and the quality of education available to our young people. Our future as a society will depend on whether our schools can equip tomorrow's citizens to deal with the next century's challenges. At a May conference convened by the Joint Center, "Restructuring America's Public Schools: Implications for Black Children," educators, policy analysts, scholars, business executives, and education policy makers from every level of government examined the status of education in America and suggested alternatives to the present system. Part of a national debate on "restructuring," the conference is an extension of a major Joint Center initiative on education.

Blacks have a huge stake in any discussion of reform since they have been less well served by school systems than virtually any other segment of the population. Central to the discussion is the matter of equity. Too many schools located in black communities do not prepare black youths to contribute as citizens, to produce in the workplace, or to be fulfilled individuals. A critical question is whether our public schools will be gateways to opportunity for all or growing obstacles to achievement.

As policy makers consider reforms, they must factor the changing structure of American families into the equation. Increasingly, the children in public schools come from low-income families headed by single women or families where both parents work outside the home. These realities suggest a need for new approaches, such as opening schools earlier in the morning and continuing learning programs later in the day.

We must also ensure that in the process of reform we don't throw away effective programs that have proven their value over time. Head Start and Chapter 1 (compensatory education programs for students in elementary and secondary schools) are just two examples of strong programs that have demonstrated continuing performance but are grossly underfunded.

What is needed to effect reform is leadership, from the president and state governors on down--as well as public support for change. Whatever approaches are tried, they should be comprehensive, bringing together government officials, business leaders, and the public. Black Americans must weigh in to participate in this restructuring. While the black community has an enormous stake in the future of our schools, we are underrepresented as teachers, education administrators, school board officials, and policy makers. One of the Joint Center's objectives in its education initiative is to arm the public with information that will enable it to be a full partner in making change.

We need to keep sight of the fact that education policies must be humane, that they must address the needs of the whole child. We need to ensure that the reforms contemplated or undertaken under the rubric of restructuring meet the needs of black children. Our goal must be a system of public education that prepares our children to be confident, self sufficient adults, who have learned how to learn, and who are able to take their place in a changed and changing world. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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Wilder and Jackson: Threads of One Cloth

Viewed From a Historical and Comparative Perspective, Douglas Wilder and Jesse Jackson Have Far More in Common Than Pundits Suggest

by Richard D. Shingles

The recent election of the publicly dispassionate Virginian Douglas Wilder as the nation's first black governor since Reconstruction has led to pronouncements about a new type of black leader, the "mainstream politician." Wilder has been contrasted with "older," more race-conscious civil rights leaders, personified by Jesse Jackson. Pundits are particularly fond of extolling the moderation of Wilder over the "excesses" of Jackson.

The comparison does a disservice to both politicians. It exaggerates their differences, distorts the meaning of "old" and "new" politics, and oversimplifies ideological divisions within the black community. It contributes to the erroneous tendency, created during the Reagan era, of branding openly liberal politicians, like Jackson, as extremists, and more circumspect politicians, like Wilder, as race-neutral conservatives.

Viewed from a historical and comparative perspective, the ideological differences separating Wilder from Jackson are neither large nor new. These men are like two threads of the same cloth when examined within the larger context of the black community and American political minorities generally. Political minorities may be defined as groups that have historically been excluded by prejudice and discrimination from positions of power and authority in society's major institutions. Most vulnerable are racial minorities and women who, because of identifiable physical attributes, have not found it possible (or necessarily desirable) to completely lose their unique identities in the "melting pot" of American society or to penetrate en masse the white old-boy networks dominating the principal routes to status and power.

Responses of Blacks to Prolonged Minority Status

Over time, minorities have responded to exclusion from power in a myriad of ways that extend along a broad ideological spectrum. It is helpful to distinguish between some common ideological types found among American political minorities. First and most important is the difference between *conservatives* and *reconstructionists*. Conservatives accept, uncritically, the dominant myth of America as a colorblind and gender-blind society which treats all groups equally. Reconstructionists do not. Conservatives believe individuals are primarily responsible for their own status. Reconstructionist hold the larger society primarily responsible. Whereas conservatives support the status quo, reconstructionists seek change.

Second, there are important distinctions between types of conservatives and types of reconstructionists. Among conservatives, we may differentiate between apolitical individuals whose apathy reinforces the status quo, genuine conservatives who actively support the status quo, and strategic conservatives who secretly share some of the views of reconstructionists but believe efforts to produce change are futile, even risky.

Reconstructionists may be readily divided into liberals and radicals. Both groups perceive the political majority (Euro-American men) to be prejudiced and believe American institutions discriminate on the basis of race or sex. However, liberals retain faith in the basic integrity of the majority and the guiding principles upon which the institutions rest (for example, democracy, capitalism, and the Judeo-Christian ethic). Consequently, the changes they propose are limited reforms, in which behavior is made to conform with principle.

Radicals believe reform is impossible because racism and sexism are intrinsic to the political majority or to one or more institutions. Accordingly, they advocate drastic change, involving the destruction and replacement of existing institutions or total separation from the political majority.

Finally, any classification must also recognize that the meaning of the labels conservative, liberal, and radical depends upon the type of issue being addressed. Wilder and Jackson are said to differ on two types of issues of great importance to African Americans: race relations and economic opportunity. Jackson is described as a "race man" who favors government programs to ensure equal opportunity. Wilder is depicted as race neutral and as a fiscal conservative who opposes further government initiatives.

The following discussion is organized in terms of traditional political views of race relations found within the black community since the time of slavery. Among them are conservatives (accommodationists), liberals (integrationists), and radicals (separatists). Within each of these

(Continued on page 4)

Dr. Shingles is a professor of political science at Virginia Polytechnic and State University and a distinguished scholar at the Joint Center. He is currently working on a book comparing blacks to other American political minorities.

Wilder and Jackson

(Continued from page 3)

groups, we will note variations in economic attitudes—between economic conservatives (capitalists who believe government has no responsibility to solve social and economic problems), economic liberals (capitalists who think government has such a responsibility), and economic radicals (Marxists who advocate the abolition of capitalism). Given the wide spectrum of opinion in the black community, Douglas Wilder and Jesse Jackson appear politically similar. They take liberal stands on both race relations and economic issues.

Conservatives

Accommodation (the decision not to oppose racism or sexism) is a common response to sustained repression. Slavery forced the vast majority of African Americans to accommodate themselves to inhuman conditions. Although there are many recorded examples of slave resistance in antebellum America (from rebellions to work slowdowns to arson and the poisoning of masters), the tedium of slave life, severe repression, and lack of resources (allies, education, money, and weapons) discouraged organized protests.

A similar situation developed during Post Reconstruction in the late nineteenth century. Southern blacks were systematically disempowered and reduced to a state of second class citizenship—an American apartheid. The leading black spokesperson of the era, Booker T. Washington, like many of his Southern black contemporaries, was a strategic accommodationist. While publicly acquiescing to racial segregation, he secretly attempted to undermine it by funding black resistance (largely through litigation).

Black accommodationists persist in the modern era, though in far fewer numbers. One of the more flagrant examples of modern black accommodation is the late Clarence Pendleton. As Reagan's chairman of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Pendleton steadfastly opposed affirmative action. Under his direction, the commission was reduced to the role of apologist for the Reagan administration's policies of non-enforcement of civil rights. Many other accommodationists simply don't believe that blacks are deprived, while among those who do sense deprivation, many blame themselves or their group. Still other accommodationists continue to regard political protest as counter-productive. Political apathy is another major source of contemporary accommodation.

Historically, most blacks who have accommodated themselves to American racism have also been economically conservative. This is because those people who do not perceive any racial discrimination are unlikely to see a need for government guarantees of equal opportunity.

Liberal Reconstructionists

While most blacks were accommodationists at the turn of this century, a small group of liberals pressed for integration. They organized the Niagara Movement, which developed into the NAACP. Over time, their ranks swelled, paralleling the growth of the black middle class and the decline of more brutal forms of white racism. Black integrationists were prominent among freedmen during the American War of Independence and again during the First Reconstruction (1867-1877) following the Civil War.

Black integrationists range across the entire spectrum of economic positions. Although historically many have been conservative on economic issues, most are liberal compared to whites. One of the earliest integrationists to enunciate a liberal economic view was Thomas Fortune, the editor of the New York *Age,* a black newspaper that attacked discrimination in the 1890s. While advocating a doctrine of progress through thrift and hard work, Fortune vehemently criticized the government's complacency about the squalor and human misery of blacks during Post-Reconstruction. Finally, a very small but persistent faction of integrationists are Marxists. One of the first was A. Philip Randolph, who in 1922 ran for secretary of state of New York on the Socialist ticket.

During the 1960s, prominent civil rights activists, like Martin Luther King, who had previously ignored economic issues, came to realize that the right to eat in an integrated restaurant has no value if a person cannot afford the price of a meal. They began to actively campaign for government programs to alleviate poverty and ensure equal opportunity. Today, the great majority of black integrationists support these liberal economic policies. Most civil rights leaders and black elected officials—including Douglas Wilder and Jesse Jackson—fit into this niche.

Radical Reconstructionists

Whereas black liberals believe whites are capable of racial tolerance and typically support integration, radical reconstructionists believe whites are incorrigible and advocate separation. Black separatists or nationalists have always been present in American society, although in relatively small numbers. Historian August Meier suggests black nationalism increases in times of heightened racial tension and decreases in periods of relative racial harmony.

Nationalists vary in their attitudes toward economic issues—from cultural nationalists on the right to Marxists on the extreme left. Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan is the most prominent cultural nationalist today. His promotion of black capitalism and his calls for a black homeland in Africa have their roots in Marcus Garvey's movement of the 1920s and in a much smaller back-to-Africa movement of the 1840s and 1850s. The philosophy of "self-determination" exhibited by the Reverend George A. Stallings Jr., founder of the Afro-American Catholic Congregation, is a contemporary manifestation of a separatist church tradition dating back to Richard Allen's founding of the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1794.

Prominent on the far left is Kwame Toure (formerly Stokely Carmichael), a nationalist who blends racial unity with socialism and Pan Africanism. The well known poet and

(Continued on back page)

May 1990

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Inside This Issue:

- **The 1990 BEO *Roster* shows an expansion in the number of the nation's black officeholders as some gain electoral firsts in predominantly white jurisdictions.**
- **Ralph David Abernathy, who died last month, is remembered for his contributions and his shortcomings.**
- **Across the Nation: Arizona finally adopts a paid holiday honoring Martin Luther King Jr.; the race for congressional delegate in the District of Columbia heats up; Harvey Gantt of North Carolina faces a run-off in his bid for the U.S. Senate; Mayor Jessie Rattley of Newport News loses her bid for reelection.**

New BEOs Added to Roster Through Mainstream Votes

The 20th anniversary edition of *Black Elected Officials: A National Roster,* soon to be released, shows continued growth in the number of our nation's black elected officeholders (BEOs). As of January 31, 1990, there were 7,370 black elected officials in the United States—an increase of 144 or 2.0 percent, compared to 5.8 percent in 1989.

As in 1989, the distribution of these officials parallels the geographic distribution of the black population. The South predominates, with 60.2 percent of the country's black population and 67.5 percent of its BEOs. The Midwest has the second largest concentration of BEOs, 17.7 percent, where 16.5 percent of the black population lives. The Northeast, by comparison, is somewhat underrepresented, since it has 15.7 percent of the black population but only 9.9 percent of the BEOs. The 10 states with the largest contingents of black elected officials are Alabama (705), Mississippi (669), Louisiana (527), Georgia (495), Illinois (461), North Carolina (453), South Carolina (396), Arkansas (344), Michigan (309), and Texas (305).

While the 1990 rate of increase is only a third of the rise in the previous year, some of the new entries in the *Roster* represent breakthroughs in black electoral progress. Election victories in several majority-white jurisdictions signalled shifts in the attitudes of white voters toward black candidates. Perhaps the most prominent example is L. DOUGLAS WILDER, who was elected governor of Virginia, the birthplace of American slavery. Wilder is the first black citizen to be elected governor in the continental United States. Meanwhile, DAVID DINKINS was inaugurated mayor of New York City, the nation's largest and most ethnically diverse metropolis, and NORMAN RICE was elected mayor of Seattle, which is only 10 percent black. In two of these elections, the black candidates defeated strong white opponents whose campaigns employed tactics designed to divide the electorate along racial lines. In New York, racial insults against Dinkins, uttered by comedian **JACKIE MASON** while campaigning for Republican mayoral candidate **RUDOLPH GIULIANI,** backfired as Dinkins stayed on the high road, campaigning to "heal a racially divided city." Because of his remarks, Mason was forced out of the Giuliani campaign. And in Seattle, Norman Rice pushed aside City Councilman **DOUGLAS JEWETT,** who had coauthored an anti-busing initiative that became the centerpiece of his mayoral campaign. Although the voters rejected Jewett, they adopted his initiative.

Other black mayoral candidates who won in predominantly white cities are: **JOHN DANIELS, JR.,** in New Haven, Connecticut; **CYNTHIA MOORE CHESTNUT** in Gainesville, Florida; and **CHARLES BOX** in Rockford, Illinois. They were among the seven new black mayors elected in cities with more than 50,000 residents. There are now 33 such black mayors.

Further efforts to expand opportunities for black candidates rest, in part, with the courts. In a Georgia case, *Tyrone Brooks* v *State Board of Elections,* a federal judicial panel ruled last year that 54 of Georgia's 137

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superior court judgeships filled through at-large elections must be reviewed by the Justice Department for compliance with the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The Atlanta chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, which filed the suit, charged that the boundaries of the 54 judgeships were drawn in ways that dilute black voting strength. Created by state statutes between 1964 and 1989, the judgeships had not been precleared by Justice in accordance with Section 5 of the Act. Nevertheless, progress on the judicial front has generally been mixed. In May, a three-judge panel of the 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals overturned a ruling by U.S. District Judge **LUCIUS BUNTON,** who had ruled that Texas laws illegally diluted the voting strength of minority voters in judicial elections in nine urban Texas counties. The counties elect 172 of Texas's 390 district judges, and include the cities of Dallas, Fort Worth, Houston, and San Antonio. Because of the circuit court decision, the election process in those counties will remain unchanged.

Black Elected Officials in the United States, January 1990

			Federal		State				Substate Regional		County			Municipal					Judicial and Law Enforcement						Education			
State	Total	Net Change since January 31, 1988	Senators	Representatives	Governors	Administrators	Senators	Representatives	Members, Regional Bodies	Other Regional Officials	Members, County Governing Bodies	Members, Other County Bodies	Other County Officials	Mayors	Members, Municipal Governing Bodies	Members, Municipal Boards	Members, Neighborhood Advisory Commissions	Other Municipal Officials	Judges, State Courts of Last Resort	Judges, Other Courts	Magistrates, Justices of the Peace, Constables	Other Judicial Officials	Police Chiefs, Sheriffs, and Marshals	Other Law Enforcement Officials	Members, State Education Agencies	Members, University and College Boards	Members, Local School Boards	Other Education Officials
Alabama	705	11					5	18			71		15	31	409				1	13	41	6	6		2		86	1
Alaska	4	0						1							2												1	
Arizona	11	-1					1	2							3											1	4	
Arkansas	344	26					1	5						24	149			17		5	36					1	104	
California	281	5		4			2	6	4		7	1	2	9	49	6		4	1	78		1	1			16	89	1
Colorado	14	0					1	3							3					4		1					2	
Connecticut	66	3				1	2	5						3	31	5		2			2						15	
Delaware	22	-1					1	2						2	11							1					5	
District of Columbia	235	-7		1										1	10		215										8	
Florida	177	-2					2	9			12	2		14	92	2		2	1	21			1				17	2
Georgia	495	12		1			7	23			97		4	16	230	2		3	1	18	1	1	2			2	85	2
Hawaii	1	0																									1	
Idaho	0	0																										
Illinois	461	17		3		1	7	14			38	2	1	19	155	51		20		22		2				2	124	
Indiana	68	0					1	6			13			1	28		4	2		4							9	
Iowa	14	5					1				2				4							1				1	5	
Kansas	23	0					1	3			3				5	1				2							8	
Kentucky	70	2					1	1			1			1	51					2	2	1					10	
Louisiana	527	6					5	15			116	1		21	173			2		8	42	1	14		1		128	
Maine	2	-1												1	1													
Maryland	118	0		1			5	22			6			9	63	1	1		1	12		3					4	
Massachusetts	36	-2					1	5			1				12	6					1						10	
Michigan	309	3		2		1	2	14			24			11	77			17	1	53	4				1	14	88	
Minnesota	12	0						1						1	2					4			1				3	
Mississippi	669	23		1		1	2	20			66	52	5	30	294			3	1	5	58	10	7				106	8
Missouri	169	6		2			3	13			3			15	96			5		10		2	2			2	16	
Montana	0	0																										
Nebraska	4	0					1								1												2	
Nevada	10	0					1	2			1				2					2						1	1	
New Hampshire	2	-1						2																				
New Jersey	201	2		1			2	6			8		1	10	95												78	
New Mexico	6	0				1					1				1					2							1	
New York	263	11		4			5	16			14			4	29	5				45	2	1					138	
North Carolina	453	4					3	14			44	2	1	18	259				1	20		3	4			1	83	
North Dakota	0	0																										
Ohio	209	-7		1			2	11			1	1		10	98	3		10		27					1		44	
Oklahoma	116	1					2	3			2		1	14	43			25		1			1				24	
Oregon	11	2					2	1			1				3	1				2							1	
Pennsylvania	142	3		1			3	15						4	41			2	1	34	14	1					26	
Rhode Island	11	1					1	5							4												1	
South Carolina	396	23					5	16			70	3	2	17	144	1				1			5			1	131	
South Dakota	3	0												2	1													
Tennessee	149	3		1			3	10			47		1	3	46					9	6		1				22	
Texas	305	-7		1			1	13			17			12	125	1				16	23		1		2	5	86	
Utah	1	0																		1								
Vermont	2	0						2																				
Virginia	149	5			1		3	7			40		3	6	75			3				8	3					
Virgin Islands	35	0			1	1	9			14															10			
Washington	20	0					2	1			1			3	4					5							4	
West Virginia	25	1						1						1	19					2	1	1						
Wisconsin	22	-2					1	4			3				6					3			1				4	
Wyoming	2	0					1																				1	
Total	7,370	144	0	24	2	6	98	317	4	14	710	64	36	313	2,936	85	220	117	9	431	235	44	50	0	17	47	1,577	14

Source: *Black Elected Officials: A National Roster, 1990*

Remembering Ralph David Abernathy

RALPH ABERNATHY died on April 17 of cardiac arrest at the age of 64. Abernathy's career as a civil rights leader began in 1955, when as a 29-year-old Baptist minister, he and MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. joined with other ministers to launch the Montgomery bus boycott. He remained at King's side through the many marches and demonstrations of the civil right struggle, including the historic march on Washington in 1963 and the march from Selma to Montgomery in 1965. Abernathy was also present on Selma's Edmund Pettus bridge 25 years ago when Alabama state troopers brutally attacked civil rights marchers who were demanding passage of the Voting Rights Act.

It was King in the forefront who so visibly and eloquently led the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in the late 1950s and until his death in 1968, but Abernathy was usually the other man in the picture, the one standing behind King. They both shared a commitment to nonviolence, and both lived with the same threats and dangers. Abernathy was arrested and jailed with King on 17 occasions, and his Montgomery home was bombed in 1957, a year after King's was bombed. Abernathy was King's trusted friend and devoted lieutenant. When the assassin's bullet struck in 1968, King spent the last moments of his life in Abernathy's arms.

Abernathy reluctantly stepped in to take the helm of the SCLC, and the organization declined in significance during his decade of leadership, though it continued its attacks on poverty and unemployment begun by King. In the late 1960s and early 70s, Abernathy supported the California grape boycott led by United Farm Workers Union president **CESAR CHAVEZ,** and he stood with Vietnam war protesters in Chicago and Harrisburg. He led marches in Charleston, South Carolina, to support striking hospital workers there, and he headed up a 1969 voter registration drive in Alabama. Abernathy also helped bring together the Poor People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, and in 1971 led a mule team march on the White House to oppose **RICHARD NIXON's** secret expansion of the Vietnam war abroad while cutting social programs at home.

But Abernathy's fortunes plummeted and he spent most of the 1970s and 80s shadowed by political misfortune and weak health. Other lieutenants of Martin Luther King moved on to gain prominence in their own right. **ANDREW YOUNG,** now a Georgia gubernatorial candidate, was elected to Congress in 1972, beginning a history-making career as a national political figure. **JESSE JACKSON** went from PUSH to become a presidential candidate. Abernathy's star, meanwhile, did not rise any higher. In 1977 there was Abernathy's disastrous run for the congressional seat that Young had vacated to become President **JIMMY CARTER's** U.N. ambassador. At the eleventh hour of the 1980 campaign, Abernathy and civil rights activist Rev. **HOSEA WILLIAMS** endorsed **RONALD REAGAN** for president, without obtaining any apparent *quid pro quo* for poor or black Americans. Abernathy later suffered two strokes, in 1983 and in 1986. And last year he invited the denunciation of many Americans by writing in his autobiography, *And the Walls Came Tumbling Down,* about extramarital affairs that his friend Martin Luther King was alleged to have had. Few forgave him for this, and he was roundly rebuked by many black leaders, including the present leader of the SCLC, **JOSEPH LOWERY,** for committing an act of betrayal.
—by David C. Ruffin

CIVIL RIGHTS ALERT

With his opposition to the Civil Rights Act of 1990, now pending in Congress, **GEORGE BUSH** may be jeopardizing the good will he has engendered among black Americans. The Act is designed to overturn five Supreme Court rulings handed down last June that now make it more difficult for victims of employment discrimination to gain redress through the courts. Attorney General **RICHARD THORNBURG** has led the opposition to the Act by characterizing it as a "quota" bill. Bush has repeated that characterization, causing many in the black community to question what he meant when he said that he accepts the challenge to "live up to the highest ideals of the civil rights movement."

The main bone of contention is the *Wards Cove Packing Co. v Atonio* ruling, in which the Court reversed the 18-year precedent established in *Griggs v Duke Power Co.* The *Griggs* ruling permitted employees to use statistics to demonstrate that an employer used discriminatory practices in hiring or promotions, and placed on the employer the burden to prove that the practices had a business necessity. With *Wards Cove,* the Court has shifted onto employees the burden to prove a practice's discriminatory impact. Thornburg's position on "quotas" is similar to the one taken by the Reagan administration when it tried to halt affirmative action programs across the nation. Among those opposing Bush on this issue is **ARTHUR FLETCHER,** a black Republican and long-time Bush supporter whom Bush appointed to chair the Civil Rights Commission.

Across the Nation

ARIZONA: After years of resistance, Arizona is joining the 47 other states that honor DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. with a state holiday. On May 16, Democratic Governor ROSE MOFFORD signed legislation setting aside the third Monday in January as a paid King holiday, reaffirming an act she signed last year to the same effect. The current bill differs from last year's, however, by reestablishing Columbus Day as a paid holiday as well. The latter holiday had been eliminated in last year's legislation.

The controversy began in 1987 when, early in his term, then-governor **EVAN MECHAM** rescinded the King holiday which his Democratic predecessor, **BRUCE BABBITT**, had established in 1986 by executive order. Mecham, an ultra-conservative Republican, was later impeached and removed from office for unrelated reasons.

Last year, the reinstatement of the King holiday to the state calendar and the dropping of Columbus Day generated a backlash. The Holiday Referendum Committee, an anti-King citizens group headed by right-wing activist JULIAN SANDERS, joined forces with supporters of the Columbus Day holiday to collect more than enough signatures in a referendum to place the issue on the ballot this November. The referendum put the observance of the King holiday on hold. Sanders, an architect and contractor from Tempe, based his opposition on the unfounded assertion that the slain civil rights leader was a Marxist with ties to the Communist Party.

The legislature's action this May nullifies the referendum, but opponents of the holiday are allowed 90 days to collect enough signatures to place *another* referendum on the ballot. Mecham, who is running for governor again in a field of seven candidates, remains opposed to the King holiday and has committed his campaign volunteers to help gather signatures. Stay tuned.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: Georgetown University law professor and long-time civil rights activist ELEANOR HOLMES NORTON has announced she will run for District of Columbia delegate to the U.S. House of Representatives. Norton declared her intentions in April after incumbent delegate WALTER E. FAUNTROY announced his plans to retire from Congress in order to seek the D.C. mayor's seat. Both Norton and Fauntroy, who has been the District's delegate for 19 years, are Democrats.

The position of delegate from the District of Columbia, created by Congress in 1971, is one that precludes its holder from voting on the floor of the House. The District is not represented at all in the U.S. Senate. Whoever replaces Fauntroy will most likely pursue his fight for full voting representation in the Congress and for full statehood for the District of Columbia.

Norton began her civil rights activism working in the South with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee during the 1960s. As an attorney with the American Civil Liberties Union, she won several lawsuits opposing restriction of the First Amendment right of free speech. Norton chaired the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission under President Jimmy Carter, and she recently served as a member of the D.C. Committee on Public Education, which has written a report on the reform of the District's public schools.

Among the announced candidates she will face in the September 11 Democratic primary is DONALD TEMPLE, a black attorney with 10 years' experience as a senior congressional staffer. Active in political and community affairs, Temple is the publisher of the monthly newspaper, *Black Networking News*, which is based in Washington. He is also cofounder and former president of Concerned Black Men, a community service organization.

Other announced candidates in the Democratic race are: **BARBARA LETT SIMMONS**, a black former member of the District's board of education, **GEORGE X. CURE**, the legal advisor to the Nation of Islam's Dopebuster anti-drug program, and **BETTY ANN KANE**, a white at-large city councilmember.

Two Republicans have declared their candidacy as well: consultant **JIM CHAMPAGNE** and black attorney **HARRY SINGLETON**. Singleton drew the ire of civil rights organizations when he headed the Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights under the Reagan administration. According to **GARY ORFIELD**, a school desegregation expert at the University of Chicago, Singleton intimidated his professional staff and directed them to ignore the failure of Southern state colleges to comply with longstanding desegregation plans. He left the Department in 1985 in the wake of a congressional hearing to review allegations of mismanagement.

NORTH CAROLINA: Black Democrat HARVEY GANTT, the former two-term mayor of Charlotte, will have to survive a June 5 run-off against district attorney MICHAEL EASLEY to win the right this November to challenge conservative Republican U.S. Senator JESSE HELMS. In the May 8 Democratic primary, Gantt led the field of six candidates with 38 percent of the vote. Easley, who hails from Southport and has a reputation as a drug busting prosecutor, only claimed 30 percent of the vote. Gantt's strength was in the cities—he carried Charlotte, Raleigh, Greensboro, Durham, and Winston-Salem by wide margins. Both of the candidates espouse government activism in the areas of education and health-care. They differ on the death penalty—Gantt is against it and Easley is for it.

Since neither of them won 40 percent of the vote, the threshold required by North Carolina to avoid a run-off, they will face each other again on June 5 to determine who will be the Democratic nominee. Mindful that past run-offs between black and white candidates in the 22-percent black state have been characterized by racially polarized voting, Gantt, calling for unity, asked Easley to withdraw from the contest—a request Easley declined. A divisive Democratic run-off could make it difficult for the winner to regroup and mount an effective campaign against Helms. Going into the run-off itself will be tough for both candidates, because each has already spent all the campaign money raised to date (less than $500,000 apiece).

VIRGINIA: All three of the women on the seven-member Newport News city council were defeated in the May 1 nonpartisan municipal election, including black mayor and council member JESSIE RATTLEY. (Council members choose one of their number to be mayor.) Rattley, black council member FLORA CRITTENDEN, and white council member MARGARET KEATOR failed to poll among the top four vote getters in a crowded field of 13 candidates. Rattley came in sixth. The three women were replaced by four white men who have had no government experience. The four new councilmen now join three white male incumbents to form an all-white, all-male council for the Tidewater city.

Rattley had become the city's first black and first female council member in 1970. She became the city's first black mayor in 1986. Until this month's defeat, she had been the city's top vote-getter on the council in every election since 1974. Local observers attribute her loss, in part, to a low voter turnout among the city's 32 percent black population. Only about 27,000 of the 66,000 registered voters cast ballots. However, there was a heavy voter turnout in several precincts in the mostly white northern section of the city.

Black Males and the Drug Trade: New Entrepreneurs or New Illusions?

Joint Center Conferees Report That Urban Drug Dealers Are Largely Addicts Who Earn Little by Their Trade and Fear Street Violence More Than Jail

by Katherine McFate

One of the most disheartening aspects of the crack epidemic is that the carriers of the plague so often come from within the communities victimized by it. The drug dealers on the corner are not strangers. They are kids from the neighborhood, a workmate's child, a cousin, a nephew, a son.

Drug selling appears to be one of the few growth industries in poor inner-city communities. If media images are accurate, it offers an attractive alternative to low-wage, unskilled employment for disadvantaged black and Latino men, pulling them out of the legitimate labor market. Yet what do we really know about the opportunities and costs of entering the drug trade? What financial rewards does it offer to an adolescent in a poor neighborhood? What proportion of inner city minority youths are involved in drug trafficking? Is dealing drugs a pathway out of their chronic poverty or just one more dead-end in lives already "nasty, brutish and short"?

At a Joint Center roundtable conducted last November 17, academic researchers from Detroit, New York, Cleveland, and Washington, D.C., met with congressional staff and policy makers from federal agencies to discuss these questions.

Expanding Markets and Distribution Networks

In the early 1980s, the amount and quality of cocaine entering the U.S. increased dramatically. As supply rose and prices fell, the potential market of consumers broadened. Around the same time, smokeable "crack" cocaine, an inexpensive and highly addictive form of the drug, appeared in cities across the country. The number of casual cocaine users multiplied at the same time that deepening addiction to crack was heightening the demand for cocaine. Over the last five years, numerous distribution networks have emerged to move the enormous quantities of available cocaine to eager consumers.

There was no consensus among researchers at the roundtable about the extent to which the cocaine market is controlled by "corporate" gang organizations as opposed to "free-lance" dealers. Jeffrey Fagan, a sociologist at Rutgers University, argued that organized gang involvement has been exaggerated by the media. "Crack really is a deregulated market," he said. "It is totally open...people have open access [to] raw materials ...and [to] selling locations." Steve Rickman, from the Office of Criminal Justice in Washington, D.C., reported that although lucrative selling locations in his city are tightly guarded, "anyone can set up shop" on relatively unprofitable street corners.

But Carl Taylor, a criminologist at Michigan State University, told of one corporate-style gang in Detroit that had operated a $7.5 million weekly trade in heroin before diversifying to cocaine. Ansley Hamid, professor of anthropology at the John Jay College of Criminal Justice, argued that such drug distribution networks can exist side-by-side with free-lance dealers and with user-sellers who deal to support their own habits. He said that in New York City, cocaine distribution networks vary by neighborhood.

Estimates of the number and proportion of central-city residents involved in drug dealing are difficult to obtain. Nevertheless, most of the researchers thought that it is reasonable to assume that about one in every six or seven youths in central-city neighborhoods sells drugs regularly. For example, a recent Rand Corporation study by Peter Reuter predicts that 16 percent of all black males in Washington, D.C., will be arrested and charged with drug selling before the age of 21.

Dealers' Wages: Poor for Most

Estimating the amount of income gained from illegal acts is difficult as well. Some researchers warn that when dealers discuss their income they are often giving figures for the "best day/best week" rather than an average or median over time. Income gained from drug dealing varies widely, depending on the time, effort, and skill of the individuals involved. Nonetheless, the researchers offered tentative estimates from their studies of street sales in New York City and Washington, D.C.

(Continued on page 6)

Ms. McFate is a research associate at the Joint Center.

Black Males and the Drug Trade

(Continued from page 5)

According to Phillippe Bourgois, an ethnographer from San Francisco State University, crack house workers in the East Harlem neighborhood that he studies make $50 to $75 for an eight-hour shift (or 50 cents a vial). Ansley Hamid said that street sellers in his New York City neighborhood received drugs on consignment; their sales were typically supervised by two "runners" who each earned about $100 for a 12-hour shift.

Clearly, there are those who make far higher sums in the trade. In a Rockefeller-funded study of several hundred adults arrested for selling drugs in Washington, D.C., street-level dealers reported that they could make $740 to $1000 a week. Much of this trade was conducted in the evenings, part-time, as a significant number of those arrested for dealing had legitimate day jobs. But Bruce Johnson of Narcotic and Drug Research, Inc., argued that probably "less than 20 percent of the people engaged in drug dealing have a net-worth cash return of as much as $1000 a month... Probably less than five percent of all people who deal drugs have a cash income that allows them to purchase expensive cars."

Big profits in the drug trade do not come until one reaches a mid-level sales position. This includes the "beeper boys," so called because of their reliance on beepers and cellular phones, who have built up enough of a regular clientele to retire from direct street selling. Customers call them directly to make appointments for buys.

In any case, most street-level dealers cannot hold onto the profits from dealing because they are drug users themselves. Up until about 1985, research consistently showed that most of these dealers had been drug abusers who began selling to support their habits. But this has changed. More than half of the 1,000 crack users Fagan and Johnson interviewed in New York City over the past two years sold cocaine before they began using crack.

Despite the rules many drug-dealing gangs have against narcotics use by members, a high proportion of young dealers appear to get "seduced by the pipe" as they grow older. "Initially, when kids get involved in [selling] crack, they start out as non-users," said Rickman. "But as they stay involved over a period of time they become users." While only 25 to 30 percent of the 13- to 17-year-olds arrested in Washington, D.C., test positive for drugs when apprehended, among older arrestees the figure jumps to 70 percent. And among adults arrested for selling drugs, 90 percent reported that they were regular drug users.

The Search for Effective Deterrents

The threat of arrest is not an effective deterrent for those involved in or contemplating drug dealing. Among one group of adolescents in Washington, D.C., who admitted to selling drugs, fully one third reported prior arrests. Fagan said that literally all of the crack users in his New York City survey had been in jail. Bourgois remarked that for some people in some inner city neighborhoods, going to jail is "a rite of passage, a definition of adulthood." Laurie Gundst, a journalist who is writing about West Indian drug posses, described an incarcerated Jamaican posse leader in New York City who said he was "lucky" to be in jail because he was safer there, given the violence on the street.

It is the violence of the drug trade that frightens off many prospective young dealers. Respondents in an Urban Institute survey of about 400 adolescents in Washington, D.C., said they believed a drug dealer was more likely to be injured or killed over the course of a year than to go to jail. (Given the overload on the criminal justice system, this may be an accurate assessment.) More than one in four of the youths said he had carried a concealed weapon; more than one in five said he had been part of a group that attacked or threatened another individual; and five percent had shot, stabbed, or killed someone. When the young people were asked why they had stopped dealing or had not gotten involved in drug dealing at all, they typically responded that it was because they had witnessed first-hand the impact of drug violence—like the shooting death of a friend or relative.

The Policy Implications of the Research

Several facts directly challenge the way policy makers and the public tend to view the drug problem. First, drug users/abusers and drug sellers are *not* two distinct populations and should not be treated as such. Many sellers are on the street to support a habit. Investing in more prevention, education, and treatment programs could reduce the number of *sellers* on the street by reducing their own need for the drug (as well as the general demand).

Second, jail is not an effective deterrent for the drug dealing population. Given the violence in the streets, jail (especially in local correctional institutions and juvenile detention centers) is too often viewed as a rest rather than as punishment.

Third, job training and employment programs could appear very attractive to those in entry-level positions in the drug trade. In corporate-style gang organizations, the large sums made from dealing drugs are not trickling down to the lowest echelons. After some months of risking the violence on the streets for a relatively low return, a good number of street dealers might be willing to try the legitimate labor market if given the opportunity.

Finally, policy makers need to think about intervention that offers constructive alternatives and safe havens to the children in drug-infested neighborhoods. Carl Taylor decried the fact that drug dealers are widely admired and emulated by youngsters there. He worried about the values these children would have as adults, and warned that when "children [are] nurtured on hate and rejection and isolation" we will all eventually pay for their neglect as crime, violence, and dependency increase. ■

A detailed report of the roundtable's deliberations, entitled "Crime, Drugs, and Urban Poverty," is available from the Joint Center.

"I'm Not a Pork Barrel Politician"

On His 100th Day in Congress, U.S. Rep. Craig Washington From Houston Discussed a Broad Range of Issues With Editor David Ruffin

Craig A. Washington, 48, was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives on December 9, 1989, to fill the vacancy left by Mickey Leland, who died in a plane crash in Ethiopia last August. Washington, a criminal defense lawyer, has served in the Texas state house of representatives (1973 to 1983) and the state senate (1983 to 1990). He was sworn in as a member of Congress on January 23, 1990.

Q: *What issues do you plan to stake out as your own as a member of Congress?*

A: I think my role is to work in combination with other people—I don't see myself trying to find a niche—I usually spread myself thin working on lots of different issues because they're all interrelated.

Q: *How do you expect to use your office to improve the economic situation back home in Houston?*

A: In economics, very little. I'm not a pork barrel politician. My role is not to get elected, to serve as a member of Congress just to see how many things I can drag in a sack back to Houston. If all of us did that, we'd have 435 sacks going back all over the nation but no one working for the common good of all the people. I think we have to get away from being provincial in our thinking. It's not "What did my congressman do for the district?" but rather, "What did Congress do for the nation?"

Q: *What should we do about the drug problem?*

A: We should deemphasize the criminal aspect as far as the users are concerned and treat that aspect of the drug problem for what it is—it's a health care problem. I think we need to provide more funding for drug treatment on demand for persons who have become addicted to narcotic substances.

Q: *How can we provide health care to the poor?*

A: We need a system of national health insurance that provides coverage for all persons in this country, whether they're citizens or not, based upon need.

Q: *Can we save our young people?*

A: Sure we can. We come back to education. Education is the long-term solution to the drug problem, the health care problem, and employment, and it's the long-term solution to the problem of making this society *one* society.

Q: *What should federal policy be on education?*

A: We should impose some standards to measure the level of achievement of persons who are going through our school system. We should impose some standards on who is qualified to teach and who isn't. The people who are not qualified to teach need to be driving trucks—or something other than teaching our children. And the people who are qualified to teach ought to be paid a decent wage so they'll stay in the classroom where they are needed.

Q: *Can you comment on George Bush's leadership?*

A: Leadership starts at the top. When John F. Kennedy was president, there was a clear, unambiguous message that we were moving forward on civil rights. Leadership is when people decide what's right and do it—rather than following public opinion. Public opinion tells you how to follow, it doesn't tell you how to lead.

Q: *Do you think some black politicians are backing away from issues that have long been on the black agenda in order to appeal to a broader base of support?*

A: Hopefully, by the time you get to be an adult—old enough to be elected to public office—your philosophy about things should be rather settled. I'm always a bit suspicious of people who can find ways to change their philosophy, because that means they really didn't have one to begin with, as far as I'm concerned. I'd rather be what I am, even if it means having a smaller constituency or being less well accepted.

Q: *What's your position on abortion?*

A: I am unalterably opposed to the government interfering in the decision that a woman in consultation with her physician and her God and the father of the child should make with respect to the termination of a pregnancy.

Q: *The death penalty?*

A: I am unalterably opposed to the death penalty in any form for any reason, because I believe that the government commits murder when it takes a human life just as much as the perpetrator of a crime commits murder when he takes a life.

Q: *Do you think black congressional representation in Texas will expand as a result of redistricting next year?*

A: I believe that the configuration of congressional districts will be such that there's a better than equal chance that another person who happens to be black will be elected from the Dallas area. I'd like to see that done without diluting the impact we [blacks] have on the larger system. I don't think the ultimate goal is to elect people who happen to be black, but to elect people who generally support causes that black people are interested in.

Q: *Overall, how do you feel about your first 100 days in Congress?*

A: It's for real. Basically, this job runs on your word—loyalty, trust, and doing what you say you're going to do. I've enjoyed my first 100 days. But there's a lot of work to be done—I'll never run out of things to do. ■

Wilder and Jackson

(Continued from page 4)

political activist Amiri Baraka (formerly Leroi Jones) favors the abolition of capitalism and the formation of a separate black state in the southern United States. Left-nationalism had its beginnings in the life work of W.E.B. Du Bois who, early in this century, described himself as a "socialist-of-the-path," promoted Pan-Africanism, and advocated an independent black economy in the United States. The earliest left-nationalist organization was the African Blood Brotherhood, established in 1919 by Cyril Briggs and Richard Moore, who sympathized with Garvey's nationalism but criticized him for championing capitalism and for precluding alliances with white workers.

Conclusion

In light of the history of African American politics, it is apparent that the Wilder-Jackson comparison has been greatly overworked. Certainly neither's views are new. Nor are they extreme. Both Jackson and Wilder are liberal reconstructionists. They share a basic faith in the integrity of whites and of American political and economic institutions, but also a common recognition of the depth and nature of American racism. Both are committed to reform through conventional political methods.

The differences between these two men are more of form than substance. They are the differences between a chief executive and a political organizer. Jackson, who has established himself as a tireless spokesperson for the disadvantaged, is best described as a "movement" leader who defines the political agenda and mobilizes the rank and file. Wilder, who has benefited from the movement, has downplayed race in building the broad electoral coalition necessary to winning statewide office.

Upon reflection, the alleged policy differences between Wilder and Jackson seem small. Jackson advocates public policy which will help blacks to improve their collective status, a position balanced by his strong emphasis on black self-help and his efforts, through Operation Push, to make the private sector more responsive to black needs. Although Wilder advocates fiscal responsibility and progress through economic growth and plays down the need for further government initiatives, the jury is still out on him. Wilder's initial acts as governor of Virginia suggest he is continuing the strong liberal agenda he pursued when he was a state legislator in the 1970s and 1980s. During the state's current budget crunch, Wilder has refused to cut funding for primary and secondary education, and he has eliminated a regressive sales tax on nonprescription drugs, both important issues to economically disadvantaged groups.

W.E.B Du Bois observed nearly a century ago the danger of African Americans' viewing themselves and their differences through the veil of the dominant culture—of seeing themselves from the perspective of whites. That danger persists. The tendency of pundits to exaggerate the differences between Wilder and Jackson indicates how narrow the debate on race and class has become in the United States. During the Reagan years, the white conservative movement dominated the political agenda so successfully that the term *liberal,* whether applied to blacks or whites, became a pejorative label and moderate reformers were viewed as extreme. In fact, the liberal views articulated by Wilder and Jackson are held by a wide spectrum of African Americans. Both men are part of the long tradition of American reform politics. ■

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On Mandela, the U.S. and Africa

A near universal respect bordering on reverence has grown around the name of Nelson Mandela, who for many personifies the human will to be free. The South African government was unable to still his voice or break his heroic spirit even after 27 years of imprisonment. Yet what we admire most about this statesman is not that he endured those long harsh years of confinement, but that he emerged with his humanity intact. Indeed, he is able to sit down with his former captors free of bitterness.

Mandela's cause stands out for its moral clarity against the brutality and injustice of a system where police death squads still murder those who dare stand in opposition. His presence in our country should remind all of us that the struggle in South Africa to abolish apartheid and secure genuine democracy is far from over. While we recognize that South African State President F. W. de Klerk has removed some of the oppressive policies of his predecessor, it is clear that he must go much further to accommodate the just demands of Mandela. First steps are just now being taken on the road to true democracy.

The Mandela visit also challenges us to refocus U.S. foreign policy on other areas of the African continent that deserve our attention and concern. The U.S. has strategic, economic, and humanitarian interests in Africa, which in addition to everything else is a treasure trove of strategic minerals and other natural resources and remains a largely untapped market for American goods and services. Furthermore, many of the 51 African states are influential members of the United Nations and of other international organizations of which the U.S. is a member. We need their political support in these bodies.

Many nations on this continent desperately need our help. Famine continues to prey upon starving millions. A band of South African-supported terrorists is waging a war in Mozambique, where even children are pressed into the killing fields as combatants. Civil strife is ravaging Ethiopia, Sudan, Liberia, and Angola. Moreover, many African nations are saddled with huge debts to industrialized countries, choking economic development.

As we reassess our policy on Africa, we must not lose sight of the success stories. Ivory Coast and Gabon are humane societies with stable economies. Senegal is a democracy with a genuine multiparty political system. And in Zimbabwe, a multiracial society can boast that the civil and political rights of its white minority are protected.

In a new, more positive policy toward Africa, the United States should choose to stand with Nelson Mandela and to provide assistance to the African National Congress. We must maintain economic sanctions as leverage to press the South African government to accelerate the process that will bring full political equality to its black population. We should support increased development assistance to Africa and the Caribbean. Michigan Congressman George Crockett's aid bill (the Mickey Leland African and Caribbean Development Act—H.R. 4443) is designed to do just that. The bill would increase development assistance to Africa and the Caribbean from $673 million to $1 billion.

The U.S. can also support development on the continent by restructuring and forgiving some of the crushing debts of African countries. Finally, we are in an excellent position to be a force for peace in Africa. There are many conflicts that our good offices might help to settle. This continent, the ancestral home of 35 million Americans, needs our understanding, friendship, and support. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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South Africa's Death Squads

Special Police and Military Teams Are Terrorizing Anti-Apartheid Organizations and Killing Their Leaders

by Gay McDougall and Carl Soderbergh

"Bheka, these Boers are after me." Those were the words of South African human rights lawyer, Griffiths Mxenge, to a colleague after being released in Durban from questioning by the South African Police in November 1981. Mxenge had been held on suspicion of channelling funds to the African National Congress (ANC). He also called his brother in Ireland and told him that he was worried. Only days later, Mxenge's body was found mutilated. He had been stabbed 45 times, his throat had been slashed and his ears cut off. The attack was made to look like a robbery since Mxenge's car had disappeared and his jacket and wallet had been taken.

In fact, evidence has emerged that Mxenge was murdered by a death squad operating under the auspices of the South African Police. His death is one of numerous unsolved killings, including the tragic deaths of anti-apartheid activist David Webster in May, 1989, and of human rights lawyer Anton Lubowski that autumn.

Until recently, government complicity in political killings had been suspected but never proven. That changed last October when Butana Almond Nofomela confessed that he had belonged to a South African Police death squad. This was the first hard evidence that scores of anti-apartheid activists may have been killed by death squads controlled by South African police and military.

At first, South African State President F.W. de Klerk refused to address the allegations. In response to pressure from human rights groups, however, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee announced on January 31, 1990, the formation of a judicial commission of inquiry. The sole commissioner is South African judge Louis Harms. The commission began its inquiry in February of this year, and on its first official day Orange Free State Attorney General T. McNally presented a list of 71 unsolved politically motivated killings since 1977. While its investigations have been restricted to attacks which occurred inside South Africa, evidence presented to the Harms Commission has revealed the following:

- The death squads target key anti-apartheid leaders in a calculated plan to terrorize and eradicate the opposition;
- Several death squads controlled by South African police and military organizations have existed in South Africa at least since 1981;
- The activities of the death squads extend far beyond the borders of the country;
- The annual budget is very high (28 million rand or about $10.5 million annually for one death squad alone), making claims of ignorance from high government officials doubtful;
- The death squads continue their activities today.

The Bloody Trail of Murders

Griffiths Mxenge is only one victim on a long list of people killed under mysterious circumstances. Tragically, his wife, Victoria Mxenge, was slain four years later by unknown assailants. The Human Rights Commission, a private human rights organization in South Africa, estimated last year that approximately 61 anti-apartheid activists had been killed in the country since 1978. In only two cases was anyone ever brought to trial. The Human Rights Commission also reported that, during the same period, at least 61 more activists and family members were assassinated while in exile. The ANC states that at least 60 of its members have been assassinated outside South Africa. These figures do not include the hundreds of cases where individuals have died at the hands of government-backed vigilantes.

Eleven assassinations were documented in 1989 alone. Among them was the death of David Webster, founding member of the Detainees' Parents Support Committee, who was shot outside his home in a Johannesburg suburb last May. Two men were detained for that murder in October, but they have since been released. One reportedly told his father that he had been under the command of South African Military Intelligence. Another victim, Anton Lubowski, a lawyer and the first white to openly proclaim his membership in the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), was shot at least 20 times with an AK-47 assault rifle last September outside his home in Windhoek, Namibia.

In addition to assassinations, offices and members of opposition groups have been targeted in a variety of attacks, including bombings, thefts, and vandalism. In a pre-

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Ms. McDougall is an attorney and the director of the Southern Africa Project of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law. Mr. Soderbergh is a human rights attorney from Sweden who is interning at the Lawyer's Committee.

South Africa's Death Squads

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liminary report completed last autumn for the period since 1985, the Independent Board of Inquiry Into Informal Repression counted 165 incendiary attacks; 15 bombings; 47 reported cases of vandalism; and 37 reported burglaries (thefts mainly of files). The Board was formed in July 1989 to investigate assassinations and attacks on anti-apartheid organizations. Although these assaults follow a clear pattern aimed at subduing opposition to apartheid, proving they were the work of the South African government had remained difficult until recently.

Government Involvement Proven

The startling confession of Butana Almond Nofomela has laid responsibility for many unsolved murders squarely with the South African government. Nofomela, who is black, served with the security branch of the South African Police from 1981 through most of 1987. His signed affidavit of October 19, 1989, details his role in a police death squad known as Unit C1. Nofomela was due to hang the following day for a murder unrelated to his work for Unit C1, but with the affidavit the government granted a stay in his execution.

The facts of Nofomela's confession have been confirmed by death squad leaders. Nofomela named Brigadier Willem Schoon and Captain Johannes Dirk Coetzee, his superiors on the police force, as leaders of his death squad. Both are white. Nofomela said he was involved in at least eight killings and numerous kidnappings. He told his lawyers that the death squad was stationed at Vlakplaas farm, located in the Transvaal near Pretoria and leased from a private citizen.

Nofomela reported that he and other members of the death squad were told by Coetzee that Griffiths Mxenge "was to be eliminated for his activities within the African National Congress." "[Coetzee] instructed us specifically not to shoot Mxenge, but to kill him with a knife," Nofomela said. On the night of the murder, Nofomela and three other death squad members parked their pick-up truck near Mxenge's house in Umlazi Township and acted as if they had suffered a mechanical break-down. When Mxenge stopped to offer help, Nofomela drew a gun. Mxenge was taken to Umlazi Stadium, where, Nofomela stated,

> We then started assaulting him with kicks and punches, until he fell to the ground. We then all stabbed him several times. He immediately died, and we carried on butchering his body. In accordance with our instructions from Captain Coetzee, we removed Mxenge's items of value, like money and a watch, in order to simulate a robbery.

Each of the participants was paid a one-thousand rand bonus (about $377).

Brigadier Schoon "coincidentally" retired only days after Nofomela's affidavit was taken. Coetzee, fearing that he would be marked as a scapegoat, fled to exile in Mauritius. There, in an interview with the Afrikaans-language newspaper *Vrye Weekblad* on November 17, he confirmed many of the details in Nofomela's affidavit including: his instructions that Mxenge had to be knifed and not shot, the names of the other assailants, and the thousand-rand bonus. Coetzee claims his orders to kill Mxenge came from Brigadier Jan Van den Hoeven, Port Natal police commander.

Coetzee described other murders as well. Among the victims he identified were two ex-ANC members who were being "uncooperative" and Sizwe Kodile, a university student who suffered brain damage during interrogation in 1981, allegedly jumped out of a window and then had to be gotten rid of. Coetzee also described several bombings and killings in Botswana and Swaziland. He said he took part in a break-in at the office in Swaziland of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. An envelope stolen from that office, he said, was later used to send the letter-bomb which killed anti-apartheid writer Ruth First in 1982. "I was in the heart of the whore," Coetzee said. "I know the deepest secrets of this unit, which was above the law. I am guilty of, or at least an accomplice to, several murders."

The Military's Hand of Death

At about the same time that the Harms Commission was announced, evidence of a second death squad surfaced. This group, known as the Civilian Cooperation Bureau (CCB), is sponsored by the South African Defence Force (SADF). One of the CCB's planned targets was Dullah Omar, a prominent opposition lawyer. Heart-attack-inducing pills were allegedly going to be substituted for Omar's normal heart medicine. The plan failed. Another reported assassination target, who was not killed, was Gavin Evans, a journalist with the Johannesburg *Weekly Mail* and a member of the End Conscription Campaign.

On February 10 of this year, Defense Minister Magnus Malan said that the purpose of the CCB (known in Afrikaans as Burgerlike Samewerkingsburo or BSB) was simply to gather information on the enemies of South Africa. Malan also assured the Harms Commission that all CCB operations had been suspended. The CCB chief, Colonel Joe Verster, was placed in detention under the terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, apparently in an attempt by the military to find a scapegoat.

High-ranking military officers have been implicated in connection with the CCB, including General Witkop Badenhorst, currently chief of staff for Military Intelligence, and Major General Eddie Webb, head of SADF Special Forces. When Webb testified, he contradicted Malan's statement that the CCB was no longer operating. Webb asked Justice Harms to close the CCB inquiry to the public, since "more or less two hundred projects that the CCB is currently engaged in could be jeopardized."

On March 29, Lieutenant Abraham "Slang" van Zyl, a

(Continued on back page)

June 1990

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Inside This Issue:

- **Southern runoff primaries remain resistant to court challenges from civil rights lawyers.**
- **An experimental Wisconsin education voucher program is opposed by public school advocates.**
- **Washington, D.C., area members of the Nation of Islam are the first from that religious organization to run for elective office.**
- **Across the Nation: Kenneth "Muskie" Harris wins the GOP nomination in Arkansas; Democrat Harvey Gantt wins the right to challenge incumbent Jesse Helms for his U.S. Senate seat from North Carolina; Theo Walker Mitchell wins the Democratic gubernatorial nomination in South Carolina; and the Louisiana state legislature kills a bill to eliminate minority business set-asides and calls on the U.S. Congress to study reparations for blacks.**

The Struggle Over Runoff Primaries

With their May court challenge to Georgia's primary system, civil rights groups continue the fight to do away with runoffs throughout the South, charging that they are discriminatory and violate the Voting Rights Act. Runoffs are used to nominate candidates in nine Southern and border states (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Oklahoma, and Texas). In most of the South, if no candidate wins a majority of the votes in a primary, the top two vote-getters must face each other in a second primary, or runoff. Critics of the system say that, until recently, these second primaries have spelled doom for many black political aspirants seeking congressional or statewide office because they dilute the influence of minority voters. Often, a minority candidate who wins the plurality of votes in the first primary loses in the runoff to the white opponent, who is aided by white bloc voting. It was for this reason that Jesse Jackson sought to abolish the Democratic party's runoff primaries in the 1984 presidential campaign.

Yet for Southern Democratic leaders, race is only one of several facets of the runoff. They fear that eliminating or drastically changing the runoff system could fundamentally alter Southern politics, which is now dominated by their party. Without runoffs, they argue, black candidates in states like Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina, and South Carolina—where the black voting-age population ranges from 20 to 30 percent—could earn a plurality of the votes in a single primary but then be unable to attract white voters in the general election. These Democratic leaders are concerned that in cases where black (or white liberal) candidates do not have broad-based appeal, whites will cross party affiliation to vote Republican.

The most recent state to revise its runoff primary law was North Carolina. In 1988, after two successive failures to enact legislation eliminating runoffs, black state Rep. **H.M. "MICKEY" MICHAUX** (D-Durham), himself a casualty of the runoff system, was able to get a law passed to lower the threshold of votes that would trigger a runoff from a 50 percent majority to 40 percent plurality. In the 1982 Democratic primary race for North Carolina's 2nd congressional district (left vacant by retiring congressman **L.H. FOUNTAIN**), Michaux beat second-place finisher **TIM VALENTINE** 45-to-33 percent in the primary, but then lost to Valentine in the runoff. Valentine later won the general election. A similar fate befell former Chapel Hill mayor Howard Lee when he lost a runoff election for lieutenant governor in 1976.

Efforts to secure changes through the courts have been less successful than in state legislatures. A 1986 lawsuit in Mississippi challenging runoff elections was dismissed. In a more recent case in Arkansas, a federal court of appeals let stand a lower court decision affirming the state's present runoff system. The NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund is deciding whether to appeal the Arkansas case to the U.S. Supreme Court.

In Georgia, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) has asked the courts to delay the state's July 17 primary pending a judicial ruling. Democrat **ANDREW YOUNG** is expected to be one of the top vote-getters in his party's gubernatorial primary there. Young opposes the ACLU lawsuit, even though he is running in a four-candidate primary field that includes Lieutenant Governor **ZELL MILLER.** Neither Young nor Miller is expected to win a majority. Young, however, says he is interested in winning not only the primary but also the general election, and therefore opposes efforts to change the system.

Given the saturation by black officeholders of majority-black districts and jurisdictions (created in the 1980s in response to judicial Voting Rights Acts challenges), future opportunities for black political aspirants are likely to be in non-majority-black districts and in statewide offices, places where runoffs have the greatest consequence. The fight over runoffs continues to be a source of division within the Democratic party in the South, between blacks whose clout is increasing within the party and whites who are being lured toward the GOP. Although without runoffs Democratic nominees lacking broad appeal could lose some elections to Republicans, if runoffs are maintained disgruntled supporters of black or white runoff losers might refuse to back the victorious nominee in the general election. Reconciling this dilemma will probably keep the Democratic party occupied for years to come.

Education Vouchers Cause Furor in Wisconsin

Starting this fall, 1,000 inner-city Milwaukee families with children in grades one through six will receive up to $2,500 in state funds to send each child to any Milwaukee County school they choose—public, private, or parochial. Teachers' groups and black organizations are concerned that the five-year pilot program, known as the Parental Choice Initiative, will draw resources away from urban centers and might not deliver on the promise of providing minority children a better education.

The initiative will provide low-income, inner-city families with financing credits (vouchers) that may be used at any participating school. (Parents are responsible for transportation.) The plan calls for the eventual expansion of the program to include other parts of the state where the school boards agree to allow transfers. Conservative Republican Wisconsin governor TOMMY THOMPSON proposed a similar voucher program in 1988 but was unable to get it passed by the legislature. The current voucher plan was sponsored by black state representative ANNETTE "POLLY" WILLIAMS from Milwaukee, a one-time welfare recipient who chaired JESSE JACKSON'S Wisconsin presidential campaigns in 1984 and 1988. The measure was strongly backed by Thompson and won passage by the Wisconsin state legislature last year. Neighboring Minnesota's experimental "Open Enrollment" demonstration program, which also allows parents to shop around for schools, is in its third year and serves almost 1,000 children. It will become mandatory for all school districts this coming school year despite opposition by the Minnesota Education Association.

Educational vouchers are just one component of Wisconsin's conservative "public choice" agenda, which is based on the concept that a competitive market—survival of the fittest—is the best way to provide public services. Thompson is a strong proponent of that agenda. In addition to advocating school vouchers, he has implemented other controversial policies, including a Learnfare program whereby Aid to Families with Dependent Children payments are cut off from families whose teenage children are not attending school. (With the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services' approval, granted in June, the program is being expanded to include children age 6 to 12). Thompson is also attempting to implement a two-tier welfare system under which people who migrate to Wisconsin from states with lower welfare payments will be denied the higher Wisconsin rate for their first six months of Wisconsin residency (see *Political TrendLetter*, February 1990).

Local opponents of the Parental Choice Initiative, including the Milwaukee teachers union, fear that with the mass implementation of a voucher system, private, parochial, and suburban schools will become the institutions of choice, likely to skim off the best students and siphon money away from inner-city public schools. State senate majority leader JOSEPH STROHL (D-Racine) warns that the initiative will "have the effect of eroding the quality of our public schools" and "further weakening the sending schools."

The appropriateness of competition in providing education is also part of the controversy. Some educators argue that if government relinquishes a portion of its responsibility for providing education and essentially becomes an issuer of vouchers, there will be no way to guarantee equal access to education among America's diverse population. Furthermore, some schools may refuse admittance to inadequately prepared children from poor neighborhoods. Milwaukee's most selective private school, University School in River Hills, has decided not to participate in the program after learning that the school might be expected to waive the difference between the $2,500 state payment and its $4,665 to $5,565 tuition. The issue of church-state

separation is also a factor in the debate, since it will be difficult to ensure that public money used for tuition at a church-sponsored school is not subsidizing religious instruction.

Finally, critics of vouchers worry that the students least likely to benefit may be the very ones educational vouchers are being touted to help—disadvantaged minority children in the inner city. According to EVELYN K. MOORE, executive director of the Washington, D.C. based National Black Child Development Institute, those suffering most in urban public school districts will have little freedom of choice. Moore warns that "vouchers would do little to help poor parents because many don't have cars to take their children to schools far from home and often don't have the time to shop around for new schools for their children."

Although few blacks share Rep. Williams' support for voucher programs, she has become a highly visible travelling spokesperson for what has become a controversial white issue. It remains to be seen whether other states will follow Wisconsin and Minnesota's lead in enacting voucher plans. In 1989, parental choice or educational voucher proposals were under consideration in 20 state legislatures.

Muslim Politics

For the first time in its 60-year history, members of the Nation of Islam have chosen to enter electoral politics. Three Muslim candidates, GEORGE X. CURE, SHAWN X. BRACKEEN, and ABDUL ALIM MUHAMMAD are running for various offices in the Washington, D.C. area. None of them has any previous political experience. Cure, an attorney, is running in a crowded field for the post of non-voting delegate to the U.S. House of Representatives from the District of Columbia. That seat is being vacated by WALTER FAUNTROY, now a candidate for D.C. mayor (see Across the Nation, May 1990). Brackeen, a D.C. schoolteacher, is running for an at-large D.C. school board seat. And Dr. Muhammad, a surgeon, Muslim minister, and national spokesperson for Nation of Islam leader LOUIS FARRAKHAN, is seeking the 5th congressional district seat in Prince Georges County, Maryland, currently held by STENY H. HOYER, chairman of the House Democratic Caucus. Although the District is about 50 percent black, Hoyer, who is white, has enjoyed considerable black support while in Congress.

Charging that some black politicians are morally corrupt and more responsive to the white power structure than to their black constituents, the Muslim candidates are campaigning on a platform of disciplined and moral black leadership. Farrakhan says of the Muslim candidates, "You can't offer them a strange woman because they have their wives. There is not going to be any backroom smoking and drinking. And you can't serve them any drugs."

The Muslims first departed from their long established practice of political separatism in 1984 when members helped register blacks to aid Jesse Jackson's campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination. The Washington, D.C., area is where the Nation of Islam has run its successful and well publicized Dopebusters drug-fighting program to reclaim black neighborhoods from crack dealers. Dr. Muhammad is executive director of the Dopebusters program. Farrakhan, noting that it is time to "come out into the community to serve the needs of all with equal justice, all with equal representation," has challenged whites and the media to "accept these [candidates] in the same spirit that you accept any who step forward to serve." These campaigns are probably test-case races. Depending on their outcome, there may be future Muslim candidates for elective office in other parts of the country.

BOOK ANNOUNCEMENT: *BLACK VOTES COUNT*

Mississippi, a state once synonymous with racism and segregation, has made unprecedented strides in "attaining democracy and political justice for its black citizens" since passage of the Voting Rights Act, writes **FRANK R. PARKER** in his new book, *Black Votes Count*. Parker, who directs the Voting Rights Project of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law in Washington, spent 13 years as a civil rights lawyer in Mississippi. As of January 1990, Mississippi had 669 black elected officials—the second highest number (after Alabama) for any state. Yet Parker also notes that those gains remain in jeopardy, as some of Mississippi's white politicians continue to try to dilute the voting strength of the state's 36 percent black population through at-large elections, racial gerrymandering, and the conversion of elective offices to appointed ones.

The book is available in paperback ($12.95) and hardcover ($29.95) from the University of North Carolina Press, P.O. Box 2288, Chapel Hill, NC 27515-2288 (or call toll-free, 1-800-848-6224). A 20 percent discount is available from the publisher to those who identify themselves as *Focus* subscribers.

Across the Nation

ARKANSAS: Capturing 86 percent of the vote, black former college football star KENNETH "MUSKIE" HARRIS rolled over white supremacist RALPH FORBES in a June 12 runoff primary for the Republican nomination for lieutenant governor. The picture had looked very different two weeks earlier, when Forbes finished first in the May 29 primary, garnering 46 percent of the vote to Harris's 36 percent. ROB BREAUX, owner of a printing company, had come in third. Since no candidate polled more than 50 percent of the votes, the two top vote getters, Forbes and Harris, went head-to-head in the June runoff.

Harris, well known as a defensive back for the University of Arkansas Razorbacks in the 1970s, now manages a realty company in Little Rock. He was unsuccessful in previous bids for state representative and for a seat on the Little Rock board of directors (equivalent to a city council). This year, Harris is campaigning on a platform of economic development, improved services for senior citizens, and increased funding for education, while opposing abortion.

Forbes, an avowed segregationist and fundamentalist minister from Pope County, is the executive director of the Sword of the Lord Good News Ministries. A former member of the American Nazi Party and the Ku Klux Klan, he opposes the idea of black and white people serving in the same government. The lieutenant governor's post, which pays $14,000 a year, is largely ceremonial. Nevertheless, during his campaign Forbes claimed that, if elected, he would convene a special session of the state general assembly as soon as the governor travelled outside of the state, so it could consider outlawing abortion. Forbes was recently an aide to David Duke, the former Ku Klux Klan leader and current Louisiana state representative and GOP candidate for the U.S. Senate. Like Duke, Forbes has attempted to use the electoral process to advance white supremacist and extreme right-wing philosophies.

Since registered Democrats outnumber Republicans in Arkansas by five-to-one, Harris is unlikely to beat the Democratic nominee, former state attorney general and one-term congressman **JIM "GUY" TUCKER,** in the November general election. With 344 black elected officeholders, according to the Joint Center's 1990 *Roster* of black elected officials (BEOs), Arkansas has the eighth highest number of BEOs in any state. Nevertheless, the state currently has no black members of Congress or statewide elected officials, and only six blacks, all Democrats, serve in Arkansas' 135-member state general assembly.

NORTH CAROLINA: HARVEY GANTT, the black former mayor of Charlotte, has emerged as the Democratic nominee for the U.S. Senate after defeating Brunswick County prosecutor MICHAEL EASLEY in the June 5 runoff primary. His victory gives Gantt the right to face three-term Republican senator JESSE HELMS in November.

Gantt defeated Easley by a strong 57 to 43 percent, despite a voter turnout of only 25 percent. Gantt garnered broad support from the state's major metropolitan areas: Raleigh, Durham, Charlotte, Greensboro, and the coastal city of Wilmington.

With his war chest depleted by the two primary battles, Gantt faces an uphill battle against Helms, widely known for the effective direct-mail fund-raising of his political action committee, the Congressional Club. Compounding Gantt's fund-raising troubles, the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee has dragged its feet in providing financial backing for his campaign, according to Washington insiders.

Meanwhile, the right-wing Senator Helms has alreedy raised six million dollars and is expected to spend large sums on negative media ads similar to those he used against former governor JAMES HUNT, who challenged Helms unsuccessfully in 1984 (Helms outspent Hunt $16.5 million to $9.4 million).

Gantt, a political progressive, offers a clear ideological alternative to Helms, who is known for his strident opposition to civil rights enforcement and reproductive choice and for his support for the death penalty.

SOUTH CAROLINA: Black state senator THEO WALKER MITCHELL from the city of Greenville, has won his bid to become the Democratic gubernatorial nominee and to take on popular incumbent Republican governor CARROLL CAMPBELL in the general election. Mitchell has represented his majority black community in the state legislature for the past 16 years. In the June 12 primary, he beat white senate colleague ERNIE PASSAILAIGUE with 60 percent of the vote.

While Mitchell can credit much of his success in the primary to his grassroots campaigning, especially among black churches, he'll now have to broaden his base of support among the voters and raise more money if he is going to prevail against Campbell. He'll also need the strong backing of his party, which so far has not been energetic in supporting him. This lack of enthusiasm for Mitchell is viewed by black Democratic leaders in the state as symptomatic of how the white Democratic power structure feels about blacks in the party generally.

For some blacks, the Mitchell race is not only an election campaign, it has become a struggle for more clout in the party apparatus as well. In a state that is 30 percent black, no blacks are currently members of Congress, mayors of major cities, or holders of statewide office. And black politicians complain that the party does not stand with them on a redistricting strategy or efforts to abolish at-large election systems that dilute the black vote. One black party insider, who asked not to be named, says, "Former two-term Democratic governor **RICHARD RILEY** and former lieutenant governor **MIKE DANIEL,** the unsuccessful 1986 gubernatorial nominee, both white, got the full support of the party. But what we're seeing now is a subtle backing away from Mitchell by the party leadership, and we're getting tired of that kind of double standard."

LOUISIANA: A bill to "prohibit discrimination in affirmative action," which would outlaw minority business set-asides in Louisiana, passed the state house of representatives by a vote of 66-to-26 on May 29. The bill, which was sponsored by Republican state representative DAVID DUKE, a white supremacist and former KKK grand imperial wizard, has been referred to the Senate Finance Committee. In spite of the bill's apparently strong backing in the house, black state senator WILLIAM J. JEFFERSON from New Orleans, who is a member of the finance committee, says the bill is dead. The senate committee passed his motion to defer the bill indefinitely. "Duke is a skillful political maneuverer, and he keeps introducing anti-black legislation in the cloak of good government," says Jefferson, "but getting the bill passed by the House was an aberration."

In an unrelated move, the state legislature recently passed a joint resolution calling on Congress to look into the possibility of providing reparations to the descendants of American slaves. The measure, which is advisory in nature, asks Congress to study the impact of slavery and racial and economic discrimination on African-Americans and to recommend remedies.

Remaking U.S. Policy Toward the Caribbean

Congressman George Crockett Is Working With the People and Leaders of the Caribbean to Make U.S. Foreign Policy More Responsive to the Economic Needs of the Region

by Atherton Martin and Greg Asbed

Through the lens of tourist brochures and television dramas, the Caribbean appears an inviting place, its exotic landscape filled with smiling faces and the lilting music of steel drums. Yet beneath this facade, life for the majority of the people is anything but a fantasy. The region faces serious economic problems, many of which have their origins in its colonial past. Much of the Caribbean saw its debt to developed countries soar in the 1980s, while during this same period the terms of trade for the region's major exports deteriorated precipitously.

The most important U.S. economic development strategy for the region during the 1980s was the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI), passed by Congress in 1983. The CBI purported to revitalize area economies by promoting increased U.S. investments, which in theory would create jobs and expand exports to the U.S. market. After seven years of the CBI strategy, however, U.S. investors have not flocked to the Caribbean. More jobs have been lost in agriculture and industry than were created, the region's trade balance with the U.S. has worsened significantly, and many of the needs and priorities of the Caribbean people remain ignored. Today, most nations in the region face rising unemployment, growing food shortages, and deterioration in the health of their populations.

Many in the Caribbean are nevertheless hopeful that a legislative proposal introduced by Rep. George Crockett (D-Mich.) will address some of these problems and amend CBI's deficiencies.

CBI Is Not the Whole Answer

The Caribbean Basin Initiative emphasized bilateral aid and trade relations between the U.S. and countries in the region. Central to the new initiative was a provision to increase quotas, lower duties, and remove other barriers to imports from the Caribbean to the U.S. Unfortunately, the plan fell victim to domestic U.S. politics. Members of Congress representing districts with textile, footwear, leather, and tuna industries were able to remove import preferences for these products, on the grounds that they were thereby protecting domestic U.S. industries from Caribbean competition. Protection of these key industries essentially gutted CBI as a catalyst for economic growth in the region.

Furthermore, CBI was externally conceived, financed, and directed and made no provision for grassroots participation. By not involving groups representing the Caribbean's youth, farmers, workers, or women, U.S. policy makers failed to take advantage of local expertise in the formulation and execution of the CBI strategy. And by insisting on creating new institutions financed, staffed, and controlled by U.S. personnel, the CBI program excluded the managers and technicians of indigenous Caribbean agencies (such as the Caribbean Common Market, formed in 1973, and the Caribbean Development Bank) who could have played a meaningful role in the area's revitalization.

Toward a Remedy

In 1987 and 1988, Congressman Crockett held four hearings in Washington and two conferences in Barbados with representatives of local farmers, workers, women, and small manufacturers. These meetings led Crockett, who is chair of the House Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere Affairs, to introduce the Caribbean Regional Development Act in 1989.

Without denigrating the value of the trade and investment components of CBI, Crockett's legislation targets U.S. aid to the region so that it more directly helps those it is intended to benefit. Development assistance would be directed to support democratic Caribbean institutions that benefit the poor.

The legislation lays out 11 broad priorities for U.S. economic assistance to the Caribbean: increased food produc-

(Continued on page 6)

Mr. Martin is director of Caribbean programs and Mr. Asbed is research associate at the Development Group for Alternative Policies, Inc., a Washington, D.C., based policy analysis and advocacy group that monitors U.S and multilateral assistance programs.

Remaking U.S. Policy

(Continued from page 5)

tion; rural development; support for small- and medium-scale enterprises; expansion of tourism; regional economic integration; upgrading technical and managerial skills through scholarships, training, and other means; sensitivity to environmental protection; private sector development and export promotion; support for democracy; and improved human services.

The proposal aims to achieve these goals through the involvement of a broad range of public, private, and nongovernmental organizations in programs of economic diversification. Government-to-government assistance is to be supplemented by aid that would be directed to local grassroots and community organizations. Small- and medium-scale manufacturing and agriculture, however, are seen as the primary engines of growth and employment. Therefore, credits to small farmers would be designed to deemphasize traditional cash crops (sugar, bananas, and citrus crops) and expand food production for local consumption. This would reduce the dependence on food imports and stem the outflow of foreign exchange to pay for them.

A Rocky Road in Congress

The Crockett bill calls for $60 million in government-to-government economic support funds and $93.6 million in development assistance that would be targeted to projects. With the strong support of Rep. Dante Fascell, chair of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, the bill has been incorporated into two major House foreign aid authorization bills. Ultimate adoption by Congress is problematic, however, since action on foreign assistance has been stalled in the Senate.

The growing consensus in the region among leaders of government, the private sector, and grassroots organizations is that the Caribbean has its best chance for sustained development through closer cooperation among the countries. Crockett's bill honors this approach and could signal an important new direction in U.S. policy. ■

The Colonial Legacy of Economic Constriction

The roots of the present crisis in the Caribbean run much deeper than the failed U.S. development policies of the 1980s. Many of the region's problems are the byproduct of more than 300 years of colonialism. Caribbean colonies were restricted to buying and selling almost exclusively with Europe, precluding the development of trade partnerships with other nations in and out of the region.

As the dominant form of production, the colonial plantation system itself left the region a dual heritage. It monopolized the best agricultural lands, limiting the region's capacity for industrialization and food production, and it made each island dependent on one or two agricultural exports (usually sugar, bananas, or citrus crops). In 1958, the Federation of the West Indies was inaugurated, with Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Barbados at the forefront of the united colonies. In 1959, Fidel Castro seized power in Cuba. These two events represented different answers to the same central question put before the Caribbean's emerging political leaders. How would economic development be possible for the tiny nations of the Caribbean with their high levels of unemployment, illiteracy, and racial inequality and with economies that were bound to a single principal trading partner?

The U.S. response to the Cuban model of socialist sovereignty sent a clear message to the neighboring nations: political independence must stop short of economic self-determination, and any direct challenge to the western, free-enterprise model of economic growth would not be tolerated. This message set the parameters within which the nascent independence movement in the British West Indies would have to operate after the vacuum created by the withdrawal of Great Britain had been filled by the United States.

As elsewhere in the hemisphere, U.S. economic stewardship in the Caribbean was governed by an export-led, market-oriented model of economic development. However, the U.S. did not encourage the use of local resources and expertise in ways that would strengthen links among the economies of the region and reduce their dependence on foreign aid.

The newly independent nations of the Commonwealth Caribbean began to exhibit the classic symptoms of "underdevelopment." Economies that had been self-sufficient in food production during colonial times became net importers of basic food staples as small-scale farmers converted their acreage to cash crops, leading in turn to urban unemployment on an unprecedented scale. Social services in areas such as transportation, health, housing, and education were stretched thin while the crime rate spiraled upward.

In response to these crises, development models along the lines of the Federation of the West Indies were resurrected and, in 1973, the Caribbean Common Market (CARICOM) was founded, forging intraregional links in production, finance and credit, marketing, professional training, health services, transportation, culture, sports, and diplomatic representation. Nevertheless, this approach had only limited success, and the promise held out 10 years later by the Caribbean Basin Initiative has gone equally unfulfilled.

Hardcore Cocaine Use on the Rise

Increased Addiction to "Crack" and Cocaine Is Straining Social Services and Law Enforcement Institutions Nationwide

by Katherine McFate and Dennis Hoyle

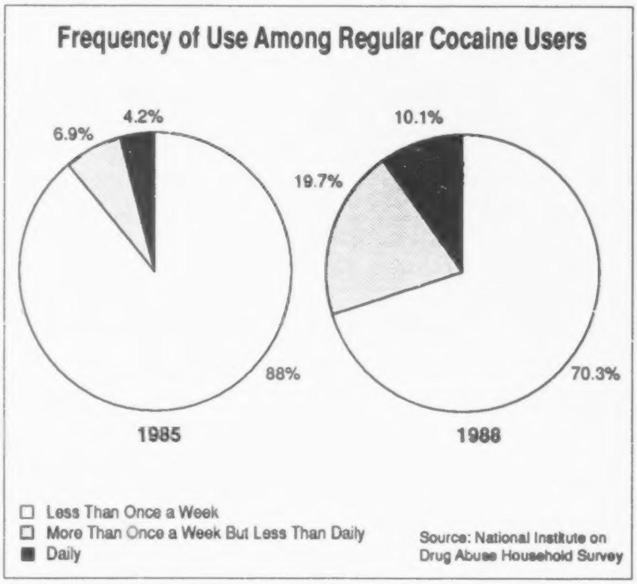
In the early 1980s, the amount and quality of cocaine entering the U.S. increased dramatically, making the drug less expensive. At the same time, a new, more addictive form of cocaine—"crack"—began to appear in the nation's major cities. These two developments made cocaine much more accessible, and by the mid-1980s the epidemic of cocaine abuse had spread across the nation, hitting poor central city neighborhoods the hardest.

The National Household Survey on Drug Abuse, sponsored by the National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA) in 1985 and 1988, indicates that casual (or occasional) use of illicit drugs has significantly decreased since 1985. However, the same surveys show that among regular cocaine users, the proportion of hardcore abusers (who reported using cocaine weekly or daily) tripled between 1985 and 1988 (see chart).

During the same period, NIDA reported a similarly steep rise in the number of hospital emergency room cases in which patients tested positive for cocaine. In the 21 major metropolitan areas studied by NIDA, these cases more than quadrupled, increasing from 10,248 to 42,511. Even more disturbing, the percentage of individuals in these cocaine-related episodes who reported that they were "dependent" on cocaine rose from 42 to 63 percent.

Hardcore users present serious challenges to society. They are likely to commit street crimes to support their habits, and their subsequent arrests further cram already overcrowded jails and choke the judicial system. A rapid increase in young female cocaine addicts has also exacerbated a number of public health problems. Many female addicts support their drug habits through prostitution, and the number of pregnant addicts is growing.

One NIDA study estimated that 11 percent of all children born in the U.S. in 1988 had been exposed to drugs. Some central city hospitals report that 60 percent of pregnant women test positive for cocaine, and other surveys show that one in four babies is born with cocaine in its blood system. As the first wave of cocaine-exposed children enters public school, they are creating a new set of challenges for already struggling urban school systems. Teachers and administrators are being asked to educate children with new health and developmental problems added to the known disadvantages of growing up in chronically poor neighborhoods.



Source: National Institute on Drug Abuse Household Survey

Another side-effect of this epidemic is that the children of drug abusers, who do not receive adequate care, are flooding the child welfare systems of many large cities. In Los Angeles, foster care placement of drug-exposed children increased elevenfold between 1981 and 1987.

Public health systems are being overwhelmed by the cost of treating emergency room patients, overdoses, drug-exposed and abandoned "boarder babies," and addicts seeking detoxification. Last year, hospitals in Washington, D.C., spent $176 million on non-reimbursed indigent health care, much of it drug-related. Caring for each drug-exposed baby generally costs $20,000 to $30,000 for the first six weeks; a boarder baby can cost $100,000 a year to support.

The pressing problems associated with the drug epidemic are common to many American communities: a large number of addicts without access to treatment programs; escalating drug-related public health costs; and high rates of violence and homicide among young males. Those problems, coupled with the large and growing number of hardcore cocaine users, are straining municipal services to the breaking point. Unfortunately, the data indicate that things are likely to get worse before they get better. ■

Ms. McFate is a research associate and Mr. Hoyle is a research assistant at the Joint Center.

South Africa's Death Squads

(Continued from page 4)

white former member of the CCB, disputed Malan's assertion that the organization was merely an information-gathering group. He said that the CCB's aim was to "maximally disrupt the enemies of the Republic of South Africa." Van Zyl confirmed the plot to poison Dullah Omar, and added that Omar's death had been called for by high ranking military officials because he was viewed as an "enemy of the state." Van Zyl also said that he had been ordered on August 25, 1989, to monitor the movements of Lubowski in Cape Town and Johannesburg only weeks before Lubowski's death.

Evidence presented to the Harms Commission has indicated that the CCB had a budget of 28 million rand ($10.5 million) per year. Van Zyl said his monthly salary was 3,500 rand ($1,320), plus a pension contribution of 800 rand ($302) per month and two productivity bonuses of 3,000 rand ($1,132) per year. In addition, he received a BMW automobile, housing, telephone allowances, and free medical care. A bookkeeper for the SADF implied that little care was given to accounting for CCB funds, and the group supplied no explanations for its expenses.

The Killing Continues

The Harms Commission has been obstructed in several ways. The CCB and the South African Defence Force have not been forthcoming with requested documents. Indeed, most of the financial and operational records have "disappeared." The inquiry's geographic limitation, which restricts it to acts within South Africa, has also hindered the production of evidence. At one point, Brian Tshikalange, an accomplice in the Mxenge murder, was interrupted while describing an operation into Botswana; his description would have added credence to his claim that he was an assassin.

It is feared that the geographic limitation may offer a *carte blanche* for assassinations to continue outside the country. A rash of murders this year has already confirmed these fears. On April 23, Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) member Sam Chand and his family were gunned down in their Botswana home. On April 28, Anglican chaplain Michael Lapsley, who lives in Zimbabwe, received a letter-bomb. He lost one eye, his left hand, and most of his right hand. Lapsley is a member of the ANC.

Attacks suspected to be the work of death squads continue inside South Africa as well. On April 7, Aldo Mogano, an activist in Alexandra Township near Johannesburg, was shot to death outside his house by unknown assailants. There has also been a series of mysterious car crashes involving PAC members. In mid-April, PAC president Japhta Masemola died near Pretoria in a collision. In a second crash, PAC member Ishmael Chand died enroute to the funeral of his brother Sam. On May 3, PAC general secretary Benny Alexander entered the hospital in critical condition following a third car accident.

The South African government's handling of the Lubowski inquiry makes it appear doubtful that any of the assassins will ever be brought to trial. The day after Lubowski was murdered, the Namibian authorities detained Donald Acheson, an Irish national and reputed mercenary. In light of its inquiries into Lubowski's death, the Namibian government sought the extradition of six South Africans, five of whom were alleged to be members of the CCB. Two of the individuals sought were to stand trial as co-defendants with Acheson. The others were requested as witnesses. However, following Namibian independence, the South African government refused to grant extradition, forcing the Namibian government to release Acheson on May 7 of this year for lack of evidence.

Justice Harms is scheduled to complete his inquiry next month, and a report of his findings will eventually be released. Unfortunately, it seems doubtful that the Harms Commission will have any real effect on ending death squad activities. Despite the revelations of commission testimony so far, the killing continues. ■

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Affirmative Action Victory

The Supreme Court's Decisions to Uphold Minority Broadcast Policies May Signal a Shift From the Court's Conservative Trend

Black Benevolence: An American Tradition

The Centuries Old Heritage of Black Philanthropy in the U.S. Continues to Thrive Through Institutions and Individuals Across the Nation

Black Votes Count

A Review of Civil Rights Attorney Frank Parker's New Book on the Legal Struggle to Gain Voting Rights for Blacks in Mississippi

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Report the Whole Story

Given its capacity to expose and to educate, to shock and to inspire, the free American press—despite its shortcomings—is one of the most powerful engines of social change in the nation.

In many ways, the civil rights movement was a public drama acted out in the print and broadcast media. Journalists made all Americans—and indeed the world—eyewitnesses to the stoning of black school children, the murders of civil rights workers, and the bombing of churches and synagogues. Most Americans were shocked and embarrassed by what they saw in print and pictures, and a consensus emerged for social change.

While the media can be enormously influential in the area of race relations, it often has to be prodded into using that influence. In 1968, the Kerner Commission, which studied the ghetto riots of the sixties, indicted the media for failing both to report adequately on racial problems and to communicate potential solutions. Today, the media appears to be missing much of the race relations story of the nineties. We can't afford to let that happen.

A blue-ribbon committee of distinguished black and white scholars, convened by the National Academy of Sciences, recently concluded in *A Common Destiny: Blacks and American Society* that "significant discrimination against blacks is still a feature of American society," that "full assimilation of blacks in a 'color-blind' society is unlikely in any foreseeable future," and that the ingredients exist for new racial confrontations and violence.

These assertions are borne out by Howard Beach and Bensonhurst, by the election of a former Ku Klux Klansman to the Louisiana legislature, and by new activism among old and new hate groups. Except for the most egregious incidents, however, the mass media have not concentrated on the double scourge of resurgent discrimination and worsening socioeconomic conditions which have resulted from the long-term racial inequality that many black Americans face.

The media must be prodded into reporting on the conditions described in the National Academy study and on the way racism harms the nation's ailing economy as well as its standing among democratic societies.

The media have done better at covering the part of the picture that shows some improvement in race relations and in the status of blacks in America. Progress has been made here—Justice Thurgood Marshall, General Colin Powell, Representative William Gray, Democratic Party Chairman Ronald Brown, Governor Douglas Wilder, and Mayor David Dinkins are vivid proof. Gradually blacks are appearing in the board rooms and executive suites of major corporations. Moreover, the black middle-class has grown substantially over the past three decades.

The cause of racial justice would be served best if society had a better understanding of the entire, complex picture of race relations—the good, the bad, and the ugly. The media must play a more aggressive role both in enlightening the public about all that has been accomplished and in reminding the nation that much remains undone. The civil rights struggle in America has led to many victories on many battlefields. But we must fight on until true justice is won. What the media have in common with those of us in research and academe is the unshakeable belief that knowledge is power. Let us use that power to report the whole story on race. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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Affirmative Action Victory

The Supreme Court's Decisions to Uphold Minority Broadcast Policies May Signal a Shift From the Court's Conservative Trend

by Mark Lloyd

Joy and shock, that's how many in the civil rights and legal community reacted to the latest Supreme Court decision on affirmative action. Many had feared that the rulings on two controversial Federal Communications Commission (FCC) policies would be the death knell for all minority preference policies. But in a stunning reversal of its conservative trend, the Court validated Congress's power to create affirmative action programs not only to remedy past discrimination but also to reach future goals such as achieving diversity.

In a 5-to-4 decision, the Supreme Court ruled that "benign race-conscious measures mandated by Congress" are "constitutionally permissible." Benign race-conscious measures, unlike those that harm racial groups like the concept of separate but equal, are measures designed to achieve a positive goal. The two FCC policies just reviewed, for example, were designed to achieve diversity among broadcast licensees. "The court adopted the position many of us had been advocating for decades," says Barbara Arnwine, executive director of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law.

Conflicting Decisions in the Lower Court

The two cases, *Astroline Communications Co.* v. *Shurberg Broadcasting* and *Metro Broadcasting, Inc.* v. *FCC*, involved challenges to two FCC affirmative action policies and reached the High Court after two conflicting decisions by the D.C. Circuit Court.

Astroline. In 1984, Faith Center, owner of a television station in Hartford, Connecticut, was having its license revoked. The FCC, as part of its distress sale policy, permits the owner of a TV or radio station in trouble to sell the station to a minority broadcaster at a small loss, avoiding the risk of a complete loss. In this case the FCC approved the TV station's sale to Astroline, a communications group with an Hispanic general partner (who invested only 210 dollars of the $3.1 million purchase price but nevertheless held controlling interest). Although distress sales have been and continue to be available to non-minorities, Alan Shurberg, a white businessman, challenged the sale, arguing that the policy discriminated against him because of his race. The lower court ruled in Shurberg's favor.

Metro Broadcasting. In 1983, Metro Broadcasting and Rainbow Broadcasting competed for a permit to operate a new television station in Orlando, Florida. The FCC licensing policy gives extra qualification credits to broadcasters with greater percentages of minorities and women participating in ownership or as employees. Rainbow (90 percent Hispanic, 5 percent female) won out in the competitive hearing process. Metro went to court, arguing that the competitive advantage of female and minority applicants was unconstitutional. The lower court disagreed, upholding the FCC's procedure.

Policies to Promote Diversity

Before the Supreme Court were two conflicting lower court decisions which raised the question: Can Congress mandate race and gender-based strategies to promote diversity?

The Court finally ruled that neither of the FCC minority preference policies mandated by Congress violates equal protection principles. It also ruled that achieving diversity is a valid constitutional goal. The Court said that "the diversity of views and information on the airwaves serves important First Amendment values."

Writing for the dissenting minority, Justice Sandra Day O'Connor argued that "except in the narrowest of circumstances, the Constitution bars [the use of] racial classifications as an infringement of the equal protection rights of individuals." O'Connor further argued that broadcast diversity "provides no legitimate, much less important, reason to employ race classifications."

In another minority opinion, Justice Anthony Kennedy drew an analogy between the FCC's minority policies and the policies of racial separation established by South Africa. Joined in that opinion by Justice Antonin Scalia, Kennedy likened the decision to *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* (the vilified 1896 Louisiana doctrine of "separate but equal"). Kennedy went on to write, "I regret that after a century of judicial opinions we interpret the Constitution to do no more than move us from 'separate but equal' to 'unequal but benign.'"

In 1978, when the policies at issue were adopted, fewer than 50 of the 11,000-plus licenses to use the public airwaves were held by minorities. While the airwaves belong to the entire public, and the regulation of those airwaves is paid for by the entire public through taxes, the control of those airwaves was in the near-exclusive hands

(Continued on page 4)

Mr. Lloyd is associate director of communications for electronic programs at the Joint Center.

of white males. This amounted to a vast grant of power over a scarce public resource. It is a power both to make tremendous sums of money and to wield considerable influence over public opinion.

The Carter-appointed FCC recognized this. It also acknowledged the chronic underrepresentation and misrepresentation of minorities in programming in the broadcast media. The FCC, and later Congress, determined that both problems were directly linked to the historic and continuing societal discrimination against women and minorities. The FCC set out to address these problems and adapted its policies on the competitive hearing process and distress sales to promote minority ownership.

For the few white broadcasting entrepreneurs willing (or being forced) to sell their property, these policies provide an incentive to look outside the old-boy networks and seek minorities and women. They also provide an incentive for white male broadcasters to invite women and minorities to play prominent roles within their organizations, since the presence of minorities and women will give them a competitive advantage in future station bids.

The FCC's rationale for these policies is that "full minority participation in the ownership and management of broadcast facilities results in a more diverse selection of programming. In addition, an increase in ownership by minorities will inevitably enhance the diversity of control of a limited resource..." (Statement of Policy on Minority Ownership of Broadcasting Facilities). This link with broadcast content was later confirmed in studies by the Congressional Research Service, which found that as a result of these remedial programs, the representation of minority viewpoints over the airwaves had increased.

In 1987, the Reagan-appointed FCC announced that it was abandoning these policies, but Congress stepped in and inserted a provision in the FCC appropriations bill to prevent the agency from reversing course.

By 1990, the number of broadcast licenses granted to minorities had climbed to over 300. While that number still represents a small percentage of the total, it shows a sixfold increase since the policies went into effect.

In an April 1990 speech to the Bay Area [San Francisco/Oakland] Black Media Conference, FCC Commissioner Andrew Barrett said the real reason the policies came under attack is that while the demand for broadcast properties is increasing, the supply is dwindling. "It should come as no surprise that in a market that offers fewer good deals, the commission's minority ownership policies have come under increased scrutiny by nonminorities."

A Separate Standard for Congress

The argument in this case focused not on how to get more diverse viewpoints in broadcasting or, as FCC Commissioner Barrett put it in his speech, on how to expand the market of available broadcasting outlets. The legal argument turned on the question of what standard of review the Court should apply in considering Congress's power. The Court decided that Congress has the power to enact affirmative action programs.

In her dissent, Justice O'Connor argued that the use of any racial classification, even by Congress, required a high standard of review, known as strict scrutiny. "The Constitution's guarantee of equal protection binds the federal government as it does the states," she wrote.

The majority noted, however, that O'Connor had made the opposite argument in two previous affirmative action cases. They are *City of Richmond* v. *J.A. Croson*, where the court held unconstitutional a minority set-asides program established by a city, and *Fullilove* v. *Klutznick*, where the court held constitutional a federal minority set-aside program that was enacted by Congress. In *Fullilove*, O'Connor said strict scrutiny did not apply to a "program employing a benign racial classification...adopted by an administrative agency at the explicit direction of Congress." O'Connor reaffirmed that position in her majority opinion on the *Croson* case last year. (The Richmond program was deemed unconstitutional both because it was too broad and because it was established under questionable methods; set-asides *per se* were not found unconstitutional, however.)

As Justice Brennan noted in the FCC decision, writing for the majority, "[it] is of overriding significance in these cases that the FCC's minority ownership programs have been specifically approved—indeed, mandated—by Congress."

Arnwine stresses the importance of the Court's adoption of a position long held by Justice John Paul Stevens. That is, that the use of racial classifications by the federal government should be expanded to include the goal of future benefits, such as achieving diversity in a university or among broadcast licensees. Affirmative action programs, Stevens argued, should not have to be justified only as remedies for past wrongs.

Justice White's Key Vote

The usually conservative Justice Byron White provided what many considered the pivotal and surprising vote on the FCC decision. White played a similar role in the *Kansas City, Missouri* v. *Jenkins* decision upholding federal judges' authority to order local school boards to raise property taxes in order to pay for school desegregation plans.

Nevertheless, Justice White's joining with the liberal wing of the court in these cases does not represent a shift in his position, according to Georgetown University law professor Mark Tushnet. "White is a supporter of affirmative action and school desegregation," says Tushnet, "but, more than that, he is a nationalist, a firm believer in the use of federal power." Both the FCC and the school desegregation decisions turned on whether the federal government (a federal judge in the Kansas City case, the Congress in the FCC cases) can legitimately use its power to achieve a constitutional objective.

According to Arnwine, "the FCC decision shows that *Croson* was not the death knell to affirmative action, that

(Continued on back page)

July 1990

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Inside This Issue:

- U.S. Senate passes the Civil Rights Act over a presidential veto threat.
- Gubernatorial hopeful Andrew Young fails to garner a majority of votes in the Georgia primary and faces an August runoff.
- Torture, "disappearances," and other human rights violations are on the rise worldwide.
- A bill passed by the U.S. would provide scholarships and loans to minorities in health professions.
- Across the Nation: A federal court throws out the districting plan for Los Angeles County because it limits minorities' chances of election to the board; State Sen. Jon Johnson and attorney Marc Morial are running for Congress in Louisiana; U.S. Supreme Court denies plaintiffs' request to require elected school boards in Virginia and upholds the appointive system.

The Senate Acts on Civil Rights

On July 18, disregarding a threat of a veto by President GEORGE BUSH, the U.S. Senate passed the Civil Rights Act of 1990 (S. 2104/H.R. 4000) by a vote of 65 to 34. The Act would overturn six 1989 Supreme Court decisions involving employment discrimination and would amend Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Introduced by Congressman AUGUSTUS HAWKINS (D-Cal.) and Senator EDWARD KENNEDY (D-Mass.), the bill would restore the right of minorities and women to seek judicial remedies for discrimination, including punitive damages that had been limited by the high court in a 1989 ruling. The bipartisan bill attracted 48 cosponsors in the Senate and 178 House cosponsors. The measure represents efforts of the civil rights community to "replace the teeth in Title VII and halt the turn-back-the-clock tide of the Reagan court," according to RALPH NEAS, executive director of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights.

President Bush, who so far has sided with Attorney General RICHARD THORNBURGH and White House Chief of Staff JOHN SUNUNU, has vowed to support, in his words, "A civil rights bill, not a quota bill." Administration opponents of the legislation claim that it is not necessary and, if approved, may compel employers to institute a system of "quotas" to avoid litigation by employees.

Initially, the administration's position was that no action was necessary on the Court decisions. The White House maintained that the rulings merely represented technical adjustments to existing civil rights laws. After Hawkins and Kennedy introduced the Act, Congress and the White House engaged in talks to craft a compromise that would preserve the provisions of the Act and at the same time be palatable to the President. But negotiations collapsed when the bill's sponsors rejected an administration substitute measure that Hawkins and Kennedy believed would gut the Act.

Ten Senate Republicans voted with all 55 Democrats to pass the bill with a strong majority—but one that is two votes short of being veto-proof. While negotiations between Congress and the administration have been renewed, the bill has gone to the House, which may not take it up until after the August recess. There is little doubt that a bill similar to the Senate version will pass the House. Some political insiders believe the president will sign the bill in any case, and that his talk of a veto is only posturing for the benefit of the GOP's right wing. However, if Bush does veto the bill, the word within the civil rights community is that he will be killing Republican hopes of bringing more blacks into the party.

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Andrew Young Heads for a Runoff in Georgia

After ballots were tallied in Georgia's July 17 primary, **ANDREW YOUNG**, who has been mayor of Atlanta, congressman, and ambassador to the United Nations, ended up without enough votes to win the Democratic nomination for governor. Young came in 11 percentage points behind Lieutenant Governor **ZELL MILLER**, the leader in the contest, though many observers had expected a spread of no more than five percentage points between the two. Since none of the four Democratic candidates won a majority of the votes, Miller and Young, the top two vote getters, will face each other again in an August 7 runoff. Miller won 41 percent of the primary vote, Young 29 percent, State Sen. **ROY BARNES** 20 percent, State Rep. **LAUREN McDONALD** [illegible] percent, and [illegible] **LESTER MADDOX** only three percent. [illegible] **JOHNNY ISAKSON** won the Republican primary.

[illegible] Young and Miller [illegible] are [illegible] competing for the same [illegible] how to improve education in the state and [illegible] he would focus on [illegible] education. He would use this increase in educa- tion [illegible] through a scholarship program designed [illegible] would pay for [illegible] the lottery helped expand [illegible]

[illegible] between the Young campaign and that of black Virginia governor **L. DOUGLAS WILDER** [illegible] Young's campaign [illegible] race and focused on issues. [illegible] Wilder had the advantage of being nominated through Virginia's caucus system [illegible] of a multi-candidate primary. He also had the benefit of [illegible] governor for four years before becoming governor, [illegible] rather than a political base limited to one urban center. Young is closely identified with Atlanta, a large dynamic city, whereas Georgia's population is predominantly rural. Some observers think that Young's success in his two terms as Atlanta mayor and representing the city in Congress may actually be hurting him. "There is a great deal of anti-Atlanta sentiment around the state. This may be a bigger negative than his (Young's) being black," says **BILL SHIPP**, a political analyst and former columnist with the *Atlanta Constitution*.

Like the rest of the nation, Georgia is not yet colorblind and race was definitely a factor in the primary. Having taken his campaign around the state, Young had predicted that he would run more strongly in predominately white areas than exit polls from the July 17 primary indicated he did. The fact that Young had been actively involved in the civil rights movement and served as one of Martin Luther King's top aides may have been a plus from the perspective of the black electorate. But observers speculate that it has made many white voters reluctant to support him. At the same time, some of Young's advisors admit that his campaign failed to sufficiently energize black voters, whose lack of enthusiasm was demonstrated by their low turnout at the polls.

Human Rights Violations Increase Worldwide

Human rights violations, such as detention of prisoners of conscience, torture, and executions, increased around the world in 1989 according to the newly released annual report of London-based Amnesty International. The 29-year old Nobel Peace Prize winning organization documented 2,229 executions of prisoners last year in 34 countries, including the U.S. (Amnesty opposes the use of capital punishment for any reason). That number is significantly worse than the 1,903 executed in 1988.

According to the report, human rights violations seem to be spreading across a wider portion of the globe. Between 1988 and 1989, the number of countries rose slightly concerning the use of torture and the ill-treatment of prisoners (96 countries in 1989), deaths from such treatment (40 countries), and unfair political trials (31 countries). Meanwhile, a 25 percent rise occurred in the number of countries where executions without trial have taken place (now 40 countries) and where individuals have "disappeared" (now 20 countries). The report notes that these violations occurred without regard for the age or sex of the victims. They included people from all walks of life—trade unionists, journalists, lawyers, political figures, religious leaders, and even children.

Founded in 1961 by British lawyer PETER BENENSON, London-based Amnesty International has more than 700,000 members and subscribers in more than 150 countries and territories. The group's primary goals are to seek the release of prisoners of conscience (people detained anywhere solely for their beliefs); work for fair and prompt trials for political prisoners; and oppose torture and executions. As of July 1990, Amnesty was reviewing or investigating 3,500 cases of individual prisoners of conscience. Since 1961, the organization has followed more than 38,000 such cases. To get emergency help to prisoners and others threatened with torture or death, a network of 4,100 volunteers [illegible] worldwide [illegible] urgent appeals, telegrams, express letters, faxes, and telexes to prison, police, and government officials in the countries where these violations occur. During the first half of 1990 the network has helped 218 people in 61 countries.

Rx for Health Problems of the Poor

The U.S. today ranks [illegible] behind other industrialized nations in deaths from preventable health problems and [illegible] children. Death rates from these ailments are disproportionately high among poor and minority Americans. The infant mortality rate among Black Americans is two times higher than it is for whites, and while life expectancy has improved for all racial and ethnic groups in this country, it has actually decreased for Black Americans over the past two years.

Focusing on what he describes as the unnecessarily adverse health conditions that many poor people fa in this society, Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) has sponsored a bill entitled the Disadvantaged Minori Health Improvement Act (S. 1606). The bill is designed to address the inequities in medical services available to chronically underserved minorities in disadvantaged communities, in part by increasing the number of minorities working in the health professions. The legislation would implement some of the recommendations of the "Report of the Secretary's Task Force on Black and Minority Health," first published in 1985 under the direction of then Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) secretary, MARGARET HECKLER.

The bill would provide loans and scholarship grants to students from disadvantaged backgrounds studying in fields such as medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, public health, clinical psychology, and optometry. It would require that half of the loan and scholarship money be provided to institutions where disadvantaged students, including black and other minorities, constitute at least 25 percent of the total enrollment. The bill also authorizes a loan repayment program of up to $20,000 a year for health professionals from disadvantaged backgrounds who agree to serve at least two years on the faculty of schools that meet those requirements. In addition, S. 1606 would fund the investigation of ways to reduce the excess morbidity and mortality among poor and minority Americans caused by preventable illnesses related to tobacco, alcohol, drug abuse, poor diet, and inadequate prenatal care. HHS data show that more than 60,000 deaths among Blacks could be prevented annually if they received health care equivalent to that received by most white Americans.

The funds authorized for S. 1606 would begin with $ [illegible] million in FY 1991, $122 million in FY 1992, $156 million in FY 1993, and $91 million in FY 1994. The Act would authorize $10 million for the secretary of HHS to issue grants and contracts to those institutions with exemplary records of serving minority communities and employing minority doctors, nurses, and other health care professionals. Dr. VIVIAN PINN-WIGGINS, president of the National Medical Association, who testified before the House Subcommittee on Health and the Environment, adds that these funds will "support those minority and other institutions that are in the forefront of providing access to medical education, as well as to provide incentives to those institutions not actively providing such opportunities at the present time."

The measure passed the Senate by voice vote on November 10, 1989. A House version (H.R. 3240), sponsored by U.S. Rep. LOUIS STOKES (D-Ohio), is now in the House Energy and Commerce Committee, but it is uncertain whether the full House will act on it before the end of the congressional session.

Cleveland C. Woodson, a summer intern at the Joint Center, was a contributing TL reporter/writer this month.

Across the Nation

CALIFORNIA: Federal district judge DAVID V. KENYON ruled on June 4 that the 1981 districting plan for Los Angeles County must be redrawn because it impairs the ability of Hispanics to gain election to the board. Kenyon ruled that the plan violated the Voting Rights Act and the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. There are no Hispanics on Los Angeles County's five-member board of supervisors, even though Hispanics make up 31 percent of the county's 8.6 million people. In fact, no minority group is represented on the board.

The court action resolves a 1988 suit, *Garza v. County of Los Angeles*, originally filed by the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF) and the American Civil Liberties Union, which claimed that three of the five county election districts were gerrymandered so that Hispanics were no majority in any. The Los Angeles chapters of the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, the Urban League and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference were also parties to the suit. One concern expressed by the black organizations during the suit was that district lines not be redrawn with only Hispanic interests in mind but also consider black electoral representation (blacks make up ten percent of the county's population).

Remapping is now in progress under Judge Kenyon's supervision. The county submitted a plan which would do little to ensure Hispanic representation on the board and would fragment the black community. Two alternative plans submitted by MALDEF would maintain the integrity of the black and Hispanic communities while creating at least one district from which a minority candidate would have a chance to be elected. MALDEF is preparing yet another proposal, this one for a nine-member board, in order to expand the opportunities for minority representation.

LOUISIANA: State Senator JON D. JOHNSON and attorney MARC H. MORIAL, both black and both from New Orleans, are running for the 2nd Congressional District seat being vacated by retiring nine-term incumbent LINDY BOGGS, who is white. All three are Democrats. The 2nd district, situated in New Orleans, is about 60 percent black. It achieved majority-black status in 1983 as a result of a court-ordered redistricting plan and remains the only majority-black congressional district in the nation not represented by a black member of Congress.

Johnson, who is 41, was a state representative for seven years and a state senator for four years. He considered a bid for Congress in 1984 but decided against it, in part because the popular Boggs indicated then that she would only run for one more term. The owner of a fast-food franchise and a business professor at Southern University in New Orleans, Johnson says that, if elected, he would focus most of his energies on economic development. In the last session of the Louisiana legislature, he succeeded in getting a minority bonding assistance bill passed. Recognizing that minority businessmen are often impeded from bidding on construction projects because they are unable to get bonding, the measure provides for the state to make or guarantee surety bonds to minority contractors.

Marc Morial, 32, is the son of the late two-term mayor Ernest 'Dutch' Morial of New Orleans. The younger Morial came into the race relatively late, announcing his candidacy in July. An attorney with a private practice in his own law firm, he has never held elective office though he has served as legislative aide in Washington to the late U.S. Rep. MICKEY LELAND (D-Tex.) and to former U.S. Sen. RUSSELL LONG (D-La.). Morial has served as the general counsel of the Louisiana Voter Registration Education Crusade since it was formed in 1984 and in 1987 he successfully sued the Orleans Parish Registrar of Voters to stop the purging of thousands of citizens from the voting rolls. Morial also drafted the South African divestiture legislation adopted by the New Orleans city council. If elected, Morial says he would work for job creation and address the city's growing drug problem.

Meanwhile, Johnson, who has already spent $50,000 on television ads, plans to raise $500,000 for his campaign. The primary, which is open to candidates of all parties, will be held October 6. In Louisiana, if a candidate wins a simple majority of the votes in the primary, no general election is held.

VIRGINIA: An important civil rights battle was lost on June 4 when the U.S. Supreme Court, by refusing to review lower court rulings, upheld Virginia's system of appointed school boards. Charging that the current system is discriminatory, the black citizens of Petersburg and four rural counties, represented by the American Civil Liberties Union, had asked the federal courts to order the state to institute school board elections. In letting the lower court ruling stand, the Supreme Court has closed one more chapter in the long fight to establish elected boards in Virginia.

In the case, *Irby v. Virginia State Board of Elections*, the state argued that because the statewide percentage of blacks on Virginia's school boards (15 percent) roughly equals the black percentage of the population, the system is sufficiently representative. But the plaintiffs argued that black distribution on local boards is uneven. They noted that at the time of the trial, 51 of the state's 136 school boards had no black members. In Buckingham County, which is 42 percent black, the seven-member board has not had more than one black member at a time since 1971.

The plaintiffs presented evidence to show that Virginia's appointed system has been deliberately maintained to exclude blacks. Historians testifying for the plaintiffs pointed out, for example, that in 1947 the state general assembly made an exception in the law to allow Arlington County to elect its school board. But when that elected board accepted a court-ordered school desegregation plan in 1956, the assembly rescinded the county's authority to elect its board members.

In the case at hand, the appeals court accepted this history as evidence of Virginia's earlier intent to discriminate, but ruled that more recent actions by the state absolved it. Specifically, the court cited a 1984 decision by a committee of the Virginia legislature to leave the appointment system intact, a decision reached after a series of public hearings held around the state. "This ruling could set a dangerous precedent if it is accepted by other federal courts," says PEYTON McCRARY, a history professor at the University of South Alabama and a former research fellow at the Joint Center. McCrary, who testified as an expert witness for the Virginia plaintiffs, adds, "The decision would allow courts to ignore smoking-gun evidence of legislative intent to discriminate, as long as legislators have subsequently affirmed the law while keeping their mouths shut [about its racial purpose]."

Black Benevolence: An American Tradition

The Centuries Old Heritage of Black Philanthropy in the U.S. Continues to Thrive Through Institutions and Individuals Across the Nation

by David C. Ruffin

A bronze statue of Abraham Lincoln stands in one of Washington D.C.'s oldest parks. The statue was erected in 1874 by the black employees of the Western Sanitary Commission of St. Louis and was inspired by Charlotte Scott, a former slave from Virginia. Scott, who conceived of the memorial when she learned that Lincoln had been assassinated, launched the project with five dollars, her first earnings as a freed woman. All other contributions were made by former slaves as well.

On his death in 1892, Primus P. Mason, a wealthy black New Englander from Springfield, Massachusetts, bequeathed an endowment of $333,400 for the establishment of a home for elderly men (the sum would be equivalent to well over a million dollars today). Born as a free person in 1817, Mason was a self-made businessman who prospered from his extensive real estate holdings.

A.G. Gaston, a 97-year-old Birmingham, Alabama, multimillionaire, is one of the unsung giants of the civil rights movement. The owner of the Booker T. Washington insurance company, a motel, and other enterprises, Gaston was an early financial supporter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. He put up $2,500 to bail Martin Luther King, Jr., out of jail after he was arrested during a civil rights demonstration. Gaston also provided free rooms to civil rights workers in his motel. More recently, he has formed student loan funds at Stanford University and the University of Alabama, and he contributes to the YMCA and the A.G. Gaston Boys Club as well as to churches and hospitals.

These examples of benevolence by black Americans, far from unique, belie the myth that blacks are always on the receiving end and never the giving end of charity. Indeed, a strong tradition of black philanthropy predates the Republic. Within the context of their unique circumstances, black people in the United States have always practiced some form of collective philanthropy. Even in antebellum times, free blacks formed benevolent societies to empower their families and resist the encroachment of slavery, which threatened everyone of African descent.

"Traditionally, blacks have been communal givers. People who individually had little pooled their resources to support small-ticket-item philanthropy or to meet an immediate need," says Dr. Emmett Carson, assistant program officer at the Ford Foundation. Formerly a senior research associate at the Joint Center, Carson is the author of a forthcoming Joint Center report on black philanthropy which is based on his research. He found that black Americans from all socioeconomic backgrounds are engaged in charitable activity at levels equal to or greater than that of white Americans.

Nevertheless, the advent of black foundations as institutions for structured, systemized giving—free of the fits and starts of crisis charity—is a relatively new phenomenon. Most black foundations were established within the last two decades. They differ from larger mainstream foundations in that the issues they deal with are closer to home. The mission of most black foundations is to address community problems and focus on improving the education or the socioeconomic status of lower-income blacks.

Learning to Survive

For blacks in America, the quest for knowledge has been costly. The educational empowerment of blacks, or indeed of any minority, has often met resistance from the majority society. Slaves who learned to read were brutally punished. The struggle for equal education during the civil rights movement was opposed—often violently. Even today, a good college education often comes with a price tag that puts it beyond the reach of most black Americans. It is not surprising then that the majority of black philanthropic institutions are dedicated to education.

Many black educational foundations have an organizational base, such as a church, fraternal organization, or professional association. Alpha Kappa Alpha (AKA) sorority, like several other black Greek letter organizations, operates an educational charity. The AKA Educational Advancement Foundation, headquartered in Chicago, supports two one-year scholarship programs for male and female college and graduate students. The sorority awards merit scholarships of $1,000 to students based on academic performance, and $1,500 financial-assistance grants based on need. Fourteen awards were made in 1988 and 21 were made in 1989.

The Jackie Robinson Foundation (JRF), unlike education funds sponsored by groups or associations, was established by an individual—Rachel Robinson, the wife of the national hero who in 1947 broke the color bar in professional baseball. Launched in 1973, the year of Robinson's death, the foundation is currently assisting 84 students who attend some of the nation's finest universities through four-year scholarships totalling $350,000. This year, 25 awards will be

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Mr. Ruffin is the editor of *Focus* magazine.

made to a new crop of recipients.

Operating without an endowment, JRF raises its annual budget of $800,000 through contributions from corporations, individuals, and an annual awards dinner. Practically every major league baseball team contributes at least $10,000 to the Foundation each year as well. Another important source of funds is an annual jazz concert which attracts volunteer performances from such musical giants as Ella Fitzgerald, Lionel Hampton, and Wynton Marsalis. A family tradition, the first concert was given in 1963 on the lawn of the Robinson home in Stamford, Connecticut, to support Martin Luther King's civil rights activities.

Yet another organization, the Educational Foundation for Black Americans, based in Los Angeles, sprang from the desire of its wealthy black benefactors, Matthew and Roberta Jenkins, to give something back to their black community. From the time they met as college students, the Jenkinses felt a need to share their good fortune with others, and they routinely contributed to causes they thought were worthy. In 1965, the couple bought a trailer park on a whim and started turning a profit right away. By 1984 they formally established the foundation. The Jenkinses now own 14 trailer parks in seven states and have provided over $200,000 to needy college students through revolving loan funds at Tuskegee Institute in Tuskegee, Alabama, and at Compton College in Compton, California.

Foundations With a Difference

Black philanthropists and charitable institutions support many other causes besides education. Of the many ways and reasons foundations come to be, the small W. Harry Davis Foundation, which serves the black community of Minneapolis, is one of the more unusual; it was literally financed by love.

It all started in 1982 when a black humanitarian surprised his friends and community by not dying as they expected him to. Davis, known for a lifetime of service as a social service worker, Golden Gloves organizer, and school board member, was informed that he had Parkinson's disease and had only six months to live. As a tribute to Davis, all sectors of the Minneapolis community held a "farewell" dinner and fundraiser for him, but four days later his disease went into remission. According to his doctors, the advance of Davis's illness was arrested by the love of the community.

The $40,000 raised at the dinner was used to establish the foundation bearing Davis's name, which has since been supported by major corporations and is still going strong. Over the years it has contributed about $10,000 a year to youth and adult job training and to black business development programs. Davis, by the way, is still going strong.

The style of operation and the character of their contributions make black foundations unique. The Booker T. Washington Foundation, located in Washington, D.C., doesn't give away money. Instead it identifies market opportunities in new technologies and growth industries that black entrepreneurs can take advantage of. The POISE Foundation of Pittsburgh encourages black people—especially young people—to enter the business and professional world. Two years ago, popular singer Dionne Warwick formed the Warwick Foundation to support AIDS education programs and fund health facilities for AIDS victims and their families.

Some individuals who start black foundations are neither wealthy nor famous. One Maryland family created a charitable fund with its own resources. The gentle voice of Frances "Frankie" Newman cracks a little when she talks about how she and her husband Alfred, both retired, took $50,000 of their own funds to establish the Jackson-Newman Foundation in 1983. It was the year after their son, Ronald, who had suffered from cancer for 17 years, died at age 31. "The trauma of this tragedy inspired us to create an organization that would help other families deal with terminal illness," says Newman.

The Givens Family Fund in Minneapolis has provided the money to purchase a large collection of African-American literature. Archie Givens, the benefactor of the fund, had become a millionaire as a nursing home operator. The materials in the collection, now preserved at the University of Minnesota's Wilson Library, encompass works from the Harlem Renaissance and include manuscripts and letters from black poet Countee Cullen.

Deep Pockets and Corporate Citizens

There has been a recent wave of philanthropy from a new generation of wealthy black celebrities and entrepreneurs. When mega-entertainer Bill Cosby made a direct personal gift of $20 million to Spelman College in Atlanta, everyone took notice. Cosby is just one of the more visible wealthy black individuals who contributes to causes directly rather than through a philanthropic institution. Others who have given in this way include actress and TV talk show celebrity Oprah Winfrey, Yankee outfielder Dave Winfield, and former Washington Redskins quarterback Doug Williams.

The foundation created by Reginald F. Lewis, black CEO of TLC Beatrice International Holdings, Inc., contributed $2 million last year to a wide variety of charities. TLC Beatrice, a food production and distribution corporation which grossed $1.3 billion in sales in 1989, ranks among Fortune 500 companies in size. Lewis has contributed to the NAACP, the Dance Theatre of Harlem, and a number of institutions of higher education including his alma maters Virginia State College and Harvard Law School.

While black foundations today have their roots in the benevolent societies of slave times, they've come a long way since then. There is every indication that philanthropy in the black community will continue to spread and find expression through a myriad of foundations and the personal styles of individuals. Similarly, the number and types of causes supported through black benevolence is also likely to grow. Whether its purpose is to provide college scholarships or encourage entrepreneurship, the American tradition of black philanthropy will expand for decades to come. ■

Black Votes Count

A Review of Civil Rights Attorney Frank Parker's New Book on the Legal Struggle to Gain Voting Rights for Blacks in Mississippi

by Peyton McCrary

When the Voting Rights Act was adopted in 1965, only seven percent of Mississippi's black adult population was registered to vote, and no blacks held public office apart from those in a handful of all-black towns. But by January 1989, when Frank Parker's new book *Black Votes Count* went to press, Mississippi had 646 black elected officials, more than any other state.

Parker, director of the Voting Rights Project of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law in Washington, D.C., and formerly a MacArthur Foundation Distinguished Scholar at the Joint Center (in 1985), is among the most respected voting rights attorneys in the nation. A social activist, he spent more than a decade fighting racial injustice in Mississippi before coming to Washington in 1981 to lobby for a stronger Voting Rights Act. His book will surprise many by its dispassionate scholarly tone and careful documentation. The weight of academic authority, nevertheless, does not slow the pace of his compelling story of black political empowerment in Mississippi.

The most obvious factor contributing to that empowerment was the elimination of virtually all barriers to registration and voting through the enforcement of the Voting Rights Act. Parker documents for the first time, however, another essential cause of the transformation of Mississippi politics over the last quarter century: litigation. On behalf of black plaintiffs, civil rights lawyers like Parker himself took the state to court year after year, ultimately winning their and thus establishing fair election procedures.

Conservative critics of the Voting Rights Act, including the legal scholars who testified against its revision in 1982, have argued that minority plaintiffs and the Department of Justice should be required to prove that each election law under challenge was motivated by intentional racial discrimination rather than relying on a statistical demonstration of discriminatory effect. Yet in Parker's book, evidence of deliberate racial discrimination jumps from every page, reminding us why the Voting Rights Act was necessary in the first place.

In 1962, for example, Mississippi's legislature passed a law requiring 45 cities with a mayor-council form of government to switch from ward to at-large elections. The (white) author of the statute urged its passage by asserting that "this is needed to maintain our way of life." Until struck down by the federal courts 13 years later, that at-large system saw virtually all black candidates losing in city-wide elections despite carrying the black-majority wards in which they resided. A similar statute adopted by the state in 1966, after the Voting Rights Act was passed, authorized supervisors to eliminate the system of single-member district elections that had been used in Mississippi for almost a century. During the debate over this bill, one state legislator was blunt about these new at-large elections: "the countywide balloting will safeguard a white board and preserve our way of doing business."

Parker explains that lawyers for black plaintiffs launched court challenges to this and several similar laws that would dilute the effectiveness of minority votes. They lost before reactionary Mississippi judges, but appealed successfully to the U.S. Supreme Court. In a 1969 opinion, *Allen* v. *Board of Elections*, the Court ruled that under Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act, all electoral changes adopted by state law or local ordinance that might dilute minority voting strength would have to undergo "preclearance" by the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice.

It would be comforting to report that intentional vote-dilution is a thing of the past, but such a rosy view is contradicted by the facts. Parker summarizes the statistical evidence presented by social scientists as expert testimony in voting rights cases over the last two decades. Their testimony documents patterns of racially polarized voting even today. A careful reading of *Black Votes Count* will persuade many scholars to pay more attention to the scientific evidence summarized in court opinions.

Conservative legal scholars who spend their time analyzing court decisions rather than electoral behavior assert that racially polarized voting is the exception rather than the rule in the South. They criticize the Voting Rights Act as an unnecessary intrusion into state regulation of the electoral process. In light of Parker's evidence, however, the belief that a significant number of Mississippi whites regularly vote for black candidates can only be called an illusion.

Black Votes Count, published by the University of North Carolina Press, is an important work that breaks new ground in its interdisciplinary analysis of the impact voting-rights litigation has on politics. Because the author himself played a major role in bringing about the changes he describes, it is also, in a quiet way, a monument to Frank Parker's extraordinary career as a civil rights lawyer. ■

Mr. McCrary, a frequent expert witness in Southern voting rights cases, is professor of history at the University of South Alabama. In 1987-88 he was the MacArthur Foundation Distinguished Scholar at the Joint Center.

Affirmative Action Victory

(Continued from page 4)

all *Croson* means is that you have to get it right. That is, by restructuring to meet the guidelines articulated in *Croson*, set-aside programs will pass constitutional muster."

What We Learned From This Term

The Court this term offered a number of surprises to liberals. It endorsed the power of federal judges to order taxes to pay for school integration. It declared a brand-new constitutional right to refuse medical treatment, even if the refusal causes death, in the *Crusan* v. *Missouri* right-to-die case. It reaffirmed the right of women to have abortions without excessive interference from the state in *Hodgson* v. *Minnesota* and *Ohio* v. *Akron*. And, for the second time, it upheld the First Amendment right to burn the U.S. flag.

"The biggest implication of this term is that the conservative majority is not quite the majority everyone thought it was," says Arnwine. We have learned a few other lessons about the Rehnquist Court. According to Arnwine, "One of the most positive signals is that Justice White shows greater sensitivity than before toward the necessity of enforcing the 14th Amendment."

We've also learned more about the Reagan appointees. Says Arnwine, "Kennedy and Scalia are tied to each other even more strongly [as conservatives]. And most disturbing, O'Connor, who used to be considered the swing vote, has become a solid vote in the conservative majority."

Cases to Watch Next Term

Arnwine warns that the civil rights community cannot afford to rest, since there are several very important cases the Supreme Court will decide next term. Two of the most important are described below.

Board of Education of Oklahoma City v. *Dowell*. A school busing suit will determine when a school desegregation plan should be disbanded. Civil rights groups fear the Court will use the case to weaken school integration. Nearly 500 school districts under federal court-ordered supervision to integrate may be affected by the outcome.

U.A.W. v. *Johnson Controls, Inc.* A Wisconsin sex discrimination suit will consider whether employers should be held to a strict scrutiny standard when they use so-called fetal protection policies to bar women from employment. Civil rights and women's groups argue that the policies are an excuse for discrimination. ■

Book Announcement: *Black Votes Count*

Mississippi has made strides in guaranteeing political justice, but the struggle isn't over yet, concludes Frank Parker in his new book *Black Votes Count* (reviewed on page 7). The book, with a foreword by Eddie N. Williams, is available from University of North Carolina Press, P.O. Box 2288, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27515-2288 (toll-free: 1-800-848-6224). Paper: $12.95; cloth: $29.95. *Focus* subscribers will receive a 20 percent discount.

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In TrendLetter: The House Votes on Civil Rights Act

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Discrimination and Immigration Law

Members of Congress Struggle Over Legislative Alternatives to Deal With the Impact of Employer Sanctions Established by U.S. Immigration Policy

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Voting Rights 25 Years After Selma

While the Political Participation of Black Americans Has Been Expanded Since the 1960s Through Litigation, the Fight Is Not Over and the Struggle Continues

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Welfare Reform Short-Changed

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From Voting Rights to Economic Empowerment

Today, as we observe the 25th anniversary of the enactment of the Voting Rights Act, we can take considerable pride in an unbroken record of political achievement. By virtually any measure, since 1965 blacks have made giant strides toward political empowerment. In voter turnout, the gap between blacks and whites has narrowed—from over 12 percentage points to about 4 points. Among some age groups we now out-vote whites.

The only elective offices that blacks have not held are those of president and vice president. The two Jesse Jackson presidential candidacies, the elections last year of L. Douglas Wilder and David Dinkins, all suggest that the nation's two highest offices may not be beyond reach.

We have been crossing new frontiers in appointive positions as well. Almost without notice, Colin Powell has occupied the highest national security position in the White House and is now the nation's top military officer. Inroads have even been made in highly technical strategic specialties. For example, Dr. Condolezza Rice, a black woman, is the top Soviet affairs advisor to the president, and Ron Brown heads the Democratic National Committee.

Black elected officials, who numbered around 300 in 1965, now total nearly 7,400, including the mayors of more than 300 cities, 24 members of the U.S. House of Representatives, and more than 400 state legislators. Moreover, there is growing evidence that black candidates are having increasing success in winning support across racial lines. Indeed, one of the challenges for black politicians over the next decade will be to make the transition from primarily racial representation to broad-based participation in governance at all levels. Although there is considerable room for further progress, blacks clearly are taking their place among elected leaders and decision-makers throughout the country.

But the political gains of the past two decades are only part of the picture. Unfortunately, we have not yet succeeded in matching our political success with similar gains in our economic status and thus in our overall quality of life. While economic opportunities have improved for many blacks, resulting in a growing and robust middle class, fully one third of the black population is mired in poverty. That compares with just 13 percent of whites. What is even more disturbing is the increasing intractability of this poverty.

I believe that *economic empowerment* is the new cutting edge in the pursuit of racial justice. It is a logical outgrowth of our political gains up to now. Therefore, the principal challenge of the 1990s and beyond is to translate our political gains into economic progress. This is true for those still in poverty as well as for those who are part of the middle class.

This is not as easy or simple as popular rhetoric might suggest. Political participation increases our capacity to influence the distribution of economic opportunities, but increased economic benefits are by no means automatic. Nor can politics deliver as much as is often assumed. For those of us who accept the primacy of the goal of expanding economic opportunities, we must develop effective strategies which take into account the political power available to us.

For as long as blacks have struggled for political rights, we have nourished the belief that political power is one of the crucial keys to economic opportunity. It is now time to use that key. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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Discrimination and Immigration Law

Members of Congress Struggle Over Legislative Alternatives to Deal With the Impact of Employer Sanctions Established by U.S. Immigration Policy

by Christopher Brown

This is the first of two articles developed as a part of ongoing Joint Center research on U.S. immigration policy being conducted under the supervision of Milton Morris, director of research.

In 1987, shortly after he moved to Los Angeles, Richard Trujillo applied for a job as a general laborer and sand blaster. He presented his social security card and driver's license as proof that he was eligible to work in accordance with immigration regulations. Later that day a company representative called Trujillo and told him his social security card was not acceptable and that he would have to bring in an Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) number. Trujillo, who was born in Kansas City, Missouri, explained that he had no reason to possess an INS number because he was a U.S. citizen. The following week another company representative implied that Trujillo's social security card might be fraudulent, and refused to hire him. The company illegally denied him the job.

Startling Discrimination

Richard Trujillo's experience of employment discrimination is not unusual. Four years ago when Congress passed the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA), it required the nation's employers to secure proof of citizenship or a resident alien card from all job applicants. Employers who knowingly hired illegal immigrants would face stiff fines and possible jail terms. Congress devised these new sanctions to discourage "undocumented workers" from seeking employment in the United States. Unfortunately, the civil rights of American workers have been violated in the process.

In a report published last March, the General Accounting Office (GAO) found that employer sanctions have produced a "widespread pattern of discrimination," not only against foreign workers who are authorized to work but even against American workers who "look foreign." Biased hiring practices are not a new development in the American workplace, of course. But IRCA has brought a new element of discrimination into the picture. The GAO report concludes by calling for reforms specifically designed to stem IRCA-related violations of civil rights. From its survey of 4,362 employers, the GAO estimates that 891,000 employers initiated one or more discriminatory practices in an attempt to comply with the law. Many Americans and legal residents must have been affected since those 891,000 employers hired 6.8 million workers in 1988 alone.

In cities with large Hispanic or Asian communities the discrimination was most pronounced. In the state of Texas, as also in the city of Los Angeles, 28 percent of the employers surveyed had begun illegal practices after the law was passed. Blacks are also affected, since about 20 percent of legal immigrants come to the U.S. from Africa and the Caribbean each year. Independent studies conducted by private, state, and local agencies, such as the New York Commission on Civil Rights, support GAO's findings and, in some cases, document discrimination that is even more pervasive.

Fine-Tuning or Repeal?

For many, the findings come as no surprise. The prospect of heightened discrimination was raised when IRCA was first being considered for Congressional passage. The GAO's recent findings have refocused legislators' attention on the elusive goal of enforcing immigration laws without infringing the rights of American minorities. Congressional supporters of employer sanctions concede that the law needs to be fine-tuned but insist that sanctions are the only effective way to curb illegal immigration.

Others disagree. Representatives from Latino organizations, such as the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF), La Raza, and the Coalition for Humane Immigration Rights of Los Angeles (CHIRLA), as well as the American Civil Liberties Union and the NAACP, have demanded that employer sanctions be repealed because of their discriminatory effects.

The INS estimates that there is a net annual increase of 200,000 illegal immigrants who remain in the United States. Economists and social scientists generally concur that the labor of immigrants, legal and illegal, helps the economy and supplements the national income. However, organized labor and many policy makers are concerned that in some industries, such as agriculture, construction, and the garment industry, large numbers of undocumented workers are competing with low-skilled American workers for jobs, thereby depressing wages and threatening the already

(Continued on page 4)

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strained social services of many cities.

These concerns have fueled a debate over whether employer sanctions should be repealed in favor of stronger enforcement at the border or whether the law can be reformed so that IRCA-related discrimination is stopped while sanctions remain in place.

Protective Measures That Failed

Congress had hoped in 1986 that it had found a humane and effective way to limit illegal immigration when it passed IRCA. Five years of intense negotiations and stalled legislation had preceded the law's passage. For the first time in American history, the law made it a crime to hire illegal immigrants. To ease the transition, amnesty was granted to approximately three million illegal immigrants—those who had resided in the country since 1982 or who had been employed as seasonal agricultural workers. Sponsors of the amnesty program reasoned that giving legal status to illegal aliens residing in the U.S. would put an end to the "shadow society" of those easily exploited by employers and living in constant fear of deportation.

To prevent biased hiring practices, the bill included anti-discrimination provisions and established the Office of Special Counsel (OSC) in the Justice Department to investigate and prosecute discrimination charges that were IRCA-related. An amendment sponsored by Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) mandated a yearly GAO review whose purpose was twofold: to determine whether employer sanctions were effective enough to justify the regulatory burden imposed on employers, and to discover whether the law was producing discrimination.

Employer sanctions underscore the dilemma facing a free society that has an overwhelming immigrant population yet wishes to control its borders.

While GAO's 1989 report (its third annual study) did find that employer sanctions had "partially realized" congressional intent by "apparently reducing illegal immigration," its findings on discrimination startled many legislators who had supported the law. The report identified three possible reasons why employers discriminated: out of ignorance of the law's major provisions; from uncertainty about how to determine employment eligibility; and due to the prevalence of counterfeit documents, which in turn contributed to employer uncertainty about eligibility.

The report recommended that the government make a stronger effort to educate the nation's employers on complying with IRCA's anti-discrimination provisions. The OSC, the INS, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and the Department of Labor have recently launched a public education drive to achieve this end.

Many workers, however, remain unaware of IRCA's protections, of what constitutes illegal discrimination under the Act, or even of OSC's existence. Although hundreds of thousands of job seekers may have been hurt by employer sanctions, only 708 cases had been brought to the OSC for investigation as of October 1989. And so far, only 83 of those cases have been investigated and settled with plaintiffs receiving some form of redress.

Michael Fix of the Urban Institute, based in Washington, D.C., testified that the current INS effort to inform employers about IRCA's antidiscrimination provisions was in practice "crowded out" by efforts to inform them of their new liabilities under the law's sanctions provisions. Educational initiatives can be intensified, according to the GAO, by focusing on just those employers that are most likely to discriminate—medium sized employers and employers in areas with large Hispanic or Asian populations.

In an effort to rectify this lack of awareness, last spring Rep. John Bryant (D-Tex.) proposed the IRCA Anti-Discrimination Amendments of 1990 (H.R.4421). The legislation would set in motion a $20 million educational campaign by the Office of Special Counsel and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), designed to inform employees of their rights and employers of their responsibilities under IRCA. Regional EEOC offices would be established in cities where employment discrimination has been prevalent.

Legislators who favor a complete repeal of the law, however, believe that by documenting "widespread discrimination" but only recommending that the sanctions be shored up with increased educational efforts, GAO has only complicated matters. Critics of the educational approach, including Arthur Fletcher, chairman of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, doubt that it can ever be effective. Testifying on June 27, Fletcher told the House Subcommittee on Immigration: "If Congress intends to let this serious discrimination continue while it experiments with solutions that are clearly inadequate, then by all means, please have GAO continue documenting the damage."

Another reform proposal (S.2446), sponsored by Sen. Alan Simpson (R-Wyo.), would seek to eliminate biased hiring by requiring all legal workers to carry a fraud-resistant work authorization card. Simpson suggests that this would provide all employers with a reliable form of documentation. Seventeen different documents are currently acceptable as forms of identification, including a U.S. passport, a social security card, and 10 documents issued by the INS to legal residents.

However, some critics of the proposed mandatory I.D. card fear that only Americans who "looked foreign" or who had foreign accents would, in practice, need and be expected to carry it. The ACLU has campaigned against the card, arguing that it could threaten individual liberties by making possible the creation of a centralized data file on individuals' backgrounds, bringing together separate files on workers that are currently kept by independent federal, state, and local government agencies and by private businesses.

The worker I.D. card poses pragmatic problems as well. Implementing such a system would require years of

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August 1990

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

In a special report, TL looks at how the 108 members of the House with large black constituencies voted on the Civil Rights Act of 1990.

Taking Names

On August 3, just hours before Congress adjourned for its month-long pre-labor day recess, the House passed the Civil Rights Act of 1990. The Senate had passed its version of the Act on July 18. The entire Congressional Black Caucus voted for the Act but some of their white Democratic and Republican colleagues who represent large numbers of black voters opposed one of the most important civil rights bills in recent years. The Act, sponsored by Sen. **EDWARD KENNEDY** (D-Mass.) and Rep. **AUGUSTUS HAWKINS** (D-Cal.), is designed to reverse five Supreme Court rulings handed down in June 1989, which have severely weakened the protections against employment discrimination provided by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and by Section 1981 of Title 42 of the U.S. Code. These Court rulings place greater burdens on plaintiffs to prove discrimination and make court challenges more costly and time consuming, thus making it more difficult for minorities and women to secure legal redress for job bias (See February and July 1990 TL).

The Senate version of the Civil Rights Act passed handily by a vote of 65 to 34. But passage of the House bill was by no means a *pro forma* affair. At the last minute, Rep. JOHN LaFALCE (D-N.Y.) and House Republican leader ROBERT MICHEL (R-Ill.) sponsored a substitute bill that nearly passed. The Congressional Black Caucus vigorously opposed the substitute, charging that it would codify the very Supreme Court rulings the Act had been drafted to overturn. The substitute was essentially identical to the Bush administration's alternative proposal, which the Senate had rejected. Among its provisions, the substitute would have defined "business necessity" more in favor of employers, making it more difficult to challenge a business practice as discriminatory. The measure would also have stricken the punitive damages provisions of the Act, allowing, instead, up to $100,000 in "equitable relief" and eliminating jury trials in some intentional discrimination cases.

On the eve of the vote on the measure, LaFalce sent a letter to House members charging that the Hawkins-Kennedy bill would force employers "to adopt *de facto* quotas" and would open the door to unending litigation and "reverse discrimination." The LaFalce measure, which was placed on the House calendar for consideration along with the Civil Rights Act, had powerful backing. By the morning of Thursday, August 2, civil rights advocates who had helped win passage of the Senate version by a strong majority were caught off guard when they realized that defeat of the Hawkins bill was imminent. While the civil rights coalition had lobbied extensively to secure the Senate victory, the House had been virtually neglected. Meanwhile, lobbyists for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and business trade groups were steadily winning support for the LaFalce measure. Moreover, many members of the House Conservative Democratic Forum joined the LaFalce bandwagon, including 15 who had signed their own letter of endorsement. Also known as the Boll Weevils, the Forum is made up of about 50 white Democrats, mostly from the South. It was the Boll Weevils who in the early 1980s gave **RONALD REAGAN** the House majorities he needed to slash social programs. The Boll Weevils and a majority of House Republicans alone could have ensured the LaFalce bill's passage.

Fearful of impending disaster, the Black Caucus met almost daily. With just 24 hours to block the LaFalce measure, each Caucus member participated in an all-out personal lobbying campaign. Here the political skill and experience of key black legislators paid off as, one-by-one, supporters of the LaFalce substitute were persuaded to defect. By August 3, the Caucus had been so successful that half of the signers of the Boll Weevils' letter reversed positions on the LaFalce proposal, which was defeated 238 to 188. The Hawkins-sponsored Civil Rights Act passed by a margin of 272 to 154 that same day. While the Act passed with strong

support, 36 of the 108 House members with congressional districts where blacks make up at least 15 percent of the population voted for the LaFalce substitute. All of the 36 were white, and 16 were Southern Democrats. Within the space of an hour, eleven of the sixteen Southern Democrats who had voted for the LaFalce measure turned around and voted for final passage of the Hawkins-sponsored Civil Rights Act.

A conference committee will now hammer out a compromise between the Senate and House versions of the Act. There is little doubt that Congress will move quickly to get the legislation to President Bush's desk for signature. Bush has indicated that he would veto legislation he thought was a "quota bill," a label applied to the Act by its opponents. The sponsors of the Act contend that the cry of quotas is a red herring issue since both versions clearly state that the measure shall not be construed to require an employer to adopt hiring or promotion quotas. Both the House and Senate bills passed just short of the two-thirds necessary to override a presidential veto.

Department of Health and Human Services Secretary LOUIS W. SULLIVAN and Office of Personnel Management Director CONSTANCE B. NEWMAN, two of the highest ranking black officials in the Bush administration, have met with the President to urge him to sign the Act. Other black leaders suggest that a veto would derail any plans Bush may have for attracting more blacks into the GOP. "If there's anything that specifically and concretely impacts upon blacks, it's civil rights," says House Democratic whip BILL GRAY of Philadelphia. "Therefore I think it would be a grave mistake for President Bush to veto the Civil Rights Act. Such a veto could become a litmus test among blacks on his administration, and much of the support he currently enjoys among African Americans could ebb away on this one issue."

How They Voted

The chart below shows how House members with districts that have black populations of at least 15 percent voted on both the LaFalce substitute and the final vote on the Civil Rights Act. A plus sign (+) indicates a vote favorable to the Black Caucus position, e.g., *against* the LaFalce measure or *for* the Hawkins-sponsored Civil Rights Act; a minus sign (-) indicates the reverse voting behavior; and (NV) indicates the legislator did not vote.

State	Congressional District	Member		Black Population (%)	LaFalce Substitute	Hawkins Bill
Alabama						
	1	Callahan	(R)	31	-	-
	2	Dickinson	(R)	31	-	-
	3	Browder	(D)	28	+	+
	6	Erdreich	(D)	34	+	+
	7	Harris	(D)	33	+	+
Arkansas						
	1	Alexander	(D)	19	-	+
	2	Robinson	(D)	17	NV	NV
	4	Anthony	(D)	28	-	+
California						
	8	*Dellums	(D)	27	+	+
	28	*Dixon	(D)	39	+	+
	29	*Hawkins	(D)	50	+	+
	31	*Dymally	(D)	34	+	+
Delaware (At-large)						
		Carper	(D)	16	+	+
Florida						
	2	Grant	(R)	24	-	+
	3	Bennett	(D)	27	+	+
	5	McCollum	(R)	16	-	-
	7	Gibbons	(D)	15	+	+
	12	Lewis	(R)	19	-	-

State	Congressional District	Member		Black Population (%)	LaFalce Substitute	Hawkins Bill
	15	Shaw	(R)	18	-	-
	17	Lehman	(D)	27	+	+
	18	Ros-Lehtinen	(R)	16	-	+
Georgia						
	1	Thomas	(D)	33	-	+
	2	Hatcher	(D)	37	-	+
	3	Ray	(D)	34	-	+
	5	*Lewis	(D)	65	+	+
	6	Gingrich	(R)	15	-	-
	8	Rowland	(D)	35	-	+
	10	Barnard	(D)	25	-	-
Illinois						
	1	*Hayes	(D)	92	+	+
	2	*Savage	(D)	70	+	+
	7	*Collins	(D)	67	+	+
	21	Costello	(D)	15	+	+
Indiana						
	1	Visclosky	(D)	24	+	+
	10	Jacobs	(D)	27	+	+
Kentucky						
	3	Mazzoli	(D)	20	+	+
Louisiana						
	2	Boggs	(D)	59	+	+
	3	Tauzin	(D)	20	-	+
	4	McCrery	(R)	32	-	-
	5	Huckaby	(D)	31	-	-
	6	Baker	(R)	25	-	-
	7	Hayes	(D)	20	-	+
	8	Holloway	(R)	38	-	-
Maryland						
	1	Dyson	(D)	19	+	+
	3	Cardin	(D)	16	+	+
	4	McMillen	(D)	21	+	+
	5	Hoyer	(D)	35	+	+
	7	*Mfume	(D)	73	+	+
Massachusetts						
	9	Moakley	(D)	16	+	+
Michigan						
	1	Conyers	(D)	71	+	+
	7	Kildee	(D)	15	+	+
	13	*Crockett	(D)	71	+	+
Mississippi						
	1	Whitten	(D)	25	+	+
	2	*Espy	(D)	58	+	+
	3	Montgomery	(D)	32	-	-
	4	Parker	(D)	42	-	-
	5	Taylor	(D)	19	-	-
Missouri						
	1	*Clay	(D)	52	+	+
	5	*Wheat	(D)	23	+	+
New Jersey						
	10	*Payne	(D)	58	+	+
New York						
	6	*Flake	(D)	50	+	+
	11	*Towns	(D)	47	+	+
	12	*Owens	(D)	80	+	+
	16	*Rangel	(D)	49	+	+

State	Congressional District	Member		Black Population (%)	LaFalce Substitute	Hawkins Bill
	17	Weiss	(D)	16	+	+
	18	Serrano	(D)	44	+	+
	20	Lowey	(D)	16	+	+
	33	Nowak	(D)	19	+	+
North Carolina						
	1	Jones	(D)	35	+	+
	2	Valentine	(D)	40	+	+
	3	Lancaster	(D)	27	+	+
	4	Price	(D)	20	+	+
	5	Neal	(D)	16	+	+
	6	Coble	(R)	21	-	-
	7	Rose	(D)	27	+	+
	8	Hefner	(D)	20	+	+
	9	McMillan	(R)	23	-	-
Ohio						
	1	Luken	(D)	16	+	+
	2	Gradison	(R)	16	-	-
	3	Hall	(D)	18	+	+
	12	Kasich	(R)	15	-	-
	21	*Stokes	(D)	62	+	+
Pennsylvania						
	1	Foglietta	(D)	32	+	+
	2	*Gray	(D)	80	+	+
	14	Coyne	(D)	22	+	+
South Carolina						
	1	Ravenel	(R)	32	-	-
	2	Spence	(R)	35	-	-
	3	Derrick	(D)	23	+	+
	4	Patterson	(D)	19	+	+
	5	Spratt	(D)	33	+	+
	6	Tallon	(D)	41	+	+
Tennessee						
	5	Clement	(D)	22	+	+
	8	Tanner	(D)	20	+	+
	9	*Ford	(D)	57	+	+
Texas						
	1	Chapman	(D)	20	-	+
	2	Wilson	(D)	16	+	+
	5	Bryant	(D)	20	+	+
	8	Fields	(R)	17	-	-
	9	Brooks	(D)	21	+	+
	12	Geren	(D)	17	-	+
	18	*Washington	(D)	41	+	+
	24	Frost	(D)	32	+	+
	25	Andrews	(D)	25	+	+
Virginia						
	1	Bateman	(R)	31	-	-
	2	Pickett	(D)	23	+	+
	3	Bliley	(R)	28	-	-
	4	Sisisky	(D)	40	+	+
	5	Payne	(D)	25	-	+
Wisconsin						
	5	Moody	(D)	28	+	+

+ = Favorable   - = Unfavorable   NV = Non-voting   * Member of the Congressional Black Caucus

Cleveland C. Woodson, a senior at Kent State University and summer intern at the Joint Center, was a contributing TL reporter/writer this month.

Voting Rights 25 Years After Selma

While the Political Participation of Black Americans Has Been Expanded Since the 1960s Through Litigation, the Fight Is Not Over and the Struggle Continues

by Frank R. Parker

Much of the following article is based on Mr. Parker's recently released book, **Black Votes Count*****, which he researched as a MacArthur Foundation Distinguished Scholar at the Joint Center. The book describes the struggle for political justice in Mississippi since the passage of the Voting Rights Act in 1965. As an attorney with the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, Mr. Parker has spent many of the last 20 years fighting in the courts to secure the full protections of the Act.***

Twenty-five years ago, thousands of Americans responded to Rev. Martin Luther King's call to converge on Selma, Alabama, to complete the march to Montgomery that had been beaten back by state police at the Edmund Pettus Bridge on March 7, 1965, Bloody Sunday. This march became the catalyst for congressional passage of the Voting Rights Act and for President Johnson's signing the law in August of that year. Since then, black voters and civil rights attorneys have been fighting in the courts to secure the Act's full protections. As we celebrate the 25th anniversary of this landmark legislation, it is appropriate to take stock of the strides we've made so far while remembering that the march for political rights that began in Selma still continues in the courts.

The Voting Rights Act enabled black and Hispanic voter registration, as well as the number of black and Hispanic elected officials, to increase dramatically. Moreover, it improved the quality of state and local government, particularly in the South and Southwest. The Act, which has helped make possible the election of several minority members of Congress, promoted democratic pluralism by making the composition of state and local governments more reflective of the racial and political diversity of their communities. In most of the Deep South's Black Belt, the Voting Rights Act put an end to plantation government and domination by white segregationist elites.

Apart from striking down such barriers to voting as poll taxes and literacy tests, the Act's greatest impact at the state level has been the elimination of at-large elections in multimember legislative districts. Multimember districts, which once prevailed throughout the South and Southwest, dilute the voting strength of minorities by submerging existing concentrations of minority voters in citywide or countywide at-large elections.

The language of the Act does not expressly forbid multimember districts. But the law's general protections against racial discrimination in voting practices have been interpreted by the Justice Department and most courts to prohibit such districts. These case rulings have resulted in the racial diversification of state and local governments.

A Sea Change in Mississippi

For many states, this change was a long time coming. Nowhere was it harder to achieve than in Mississippi—one of the last bastions of resistance to the Act. Here the single lawsuit challenging at-large state legislative elections went on for 14 years, including nine trips to the Supreme Court, until multimember districts were finally eliminated in 1979.

The full import of this change did not hit Mississippi until eight years later. By 1987, a new majority coalition had been forged in the state House of Representatives from two new forces in legislative politics. One element of the coalition was the House Black Caucus, made up of 18 members. Most of them were first elected in 1979 as a result of court decisions that required large multimember districts to be subdivided into smaller, single-member districts. Many of the new districts were majority black.

The other, larger element of the coalition comprised what political scientist Earl Black has termed the "New South generation" of white legislators: younger, better-educated representatives who reached maturity after state-enforced school segregation had come to an end. Their election to the Mississippi legislature was an unexpected—and little noted—bonus of the switch to single-member districts. Elected primarily in 1979 and 1983, they won office for two reasons. First, the remapping of election districts had eroded the countywide power bases of the old guard. Second, the smaller, more compact districts now made it possible for younger white candidates to challenge well-funded incumbents, since the smaller districts made campaigns less costly and made door-to-door canvassing an effective election tool.

By the mid 1980s, this new political majority was poised to wrest control of the House from its 11-year domination by Speaker C.B. "Buddie" Newman and the white planter elite. A force in state government and long an avowed

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Frank R. Parker is director of the Lawyers' Committee's Voting Rights Project. Portions of this article are adapted from his new book, *Black Votes Count: Political Empowerment in Mississippi After 1965*, published by the University of North Carolina Press.

segregationist, Newman, like powerful speakers before him, had used his position to block enactment of numerous progressive measures. Also, like previous speakers, Newman had his political base, ironically, in the heavily black Delta region.

The new coalition of black and white legislators had combined in 1987 to force passage of a House rule change that dramatically reduced the speaker's power. On March 26, 1987, Newman announced he was stepping down with the comment, "I just think it's best for Mississippi if I get out of the way." As political columnist Bill Minor of Jackson, Mississippi, noted at the time, "Historically, it is more than the Newman era that is coming to an end. It could be said that it will be the end of the Delta dynasty in the House." The forces that had brought Newman down were rooted in the elimination of multimember districts eight years earlier.

Newman's departure symbolizes the dramatic changes that the Voting Rights Act has produced throughout the Deep South. The impact of the law is evident in national as well as state politics. Southern Democratic senators once led the opposition in Washington to any civil rights measure. In the last decade, however, they provided crucial votes to extend the Voting Rights Act, defeat the nomination of Robert Bork to the Supreme Court, and pass both the Civil Rights Restoration Act in 1988 and the Civil Rights Act of 1990. Similarly, the new breed of Southern governors—like Ray Mabus of Mississippi, "Buddy" Roemer of Louisiana, and Bill Clinton of Arkansas—depend on black votes to get elected and are much more responsive to black interests than were many of their predecessors.

The Struggle Continues

Despite this progress, the struggle for full minority voting rights is far from over. The gratifying successes of David Dinkins' election as mayor of New York and L. Douglas Wilder's election as governor of Virginia, along with the new record of 7,370 black elected officials (according to the Joint Center's 1990 *Roster of Black Elected Officials*) must be balanced against realities. Today, black officeholders still constitute less than two percent of all elected officials nationwide, and in most parts of the country black and Hispanic candidates still can win election only in jurisdictions where the majority of voters are, like them, black or Hispanic.

This brings us to what the Rev. Jesse Jackson has termed the "unfinished business of the Voting Rights Act." The Act swept away poll taxes and literacy tests, but it left undisturbed other restrictive voter registration procedures, such as limits on time and place of registration, restrictions on appointment of deputy registrars, and dual registration requirements, which continue to impede minority progress.

The United States today has the lowest level of voting participation of any major industrialized democracy. A major factor in this low turnout is the country-wide crazy-quilt of state voter registration procedures. While more than half of the states have adopted mail-in and agency-based registration (such as at motor vehicle bureaus), this leaves the other half with restrictive procedures that have a discriminatory impact on minorities. These include requirements that voters register twice, once with the municipal registrar to vote in municipal elections and again with the county registrar for federal, state, and county elections.

In February of this year, the National Voter Registration Act (H.R.2190), designed to ease these barriers to voting, passed the U.S. House of Representatives. A similar measure (S.874) is currently pending in the Senate. But even if the legislation passes Congress and is signed into law, individual states will be free to maintain their own restrictions for state and local elections, because the bills apply only to federal elections.

Furthermore, there are areas of the country and election systems that until recently have remained untouched by voting rights litigation. Arkansas, for example, retained racially gerrymandered legislative districts until last year when the courts struck them down. Discriminatory at-large elections for state judicial officials, which Lawyers' Committee attorney Robert McDuff has called "one of the last bastions of political segregation," went unchallenged until the Lawyers' Committee won the first case nationwide in 1987. Cases challenging at-large judicial elections are now pending in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Ohio, and Texas.

Remapping Opportunities?

As states get ready to remap their districts based on 1990 census results, civil rights leaders are concerned about a number of voting rights problems. The anticipated undercount of minorities will place them at a disadvantage, not only in the distribution of federal funds, which are based on population statistics, but also in the redrawing of district maps, where the undercount of minorities is likely to be translated into their electoral underrepresentation.

The redistricting of congressional, state, and local jurisdictions that follows each decennial census provides new chances to improve minority political participation, but it also creates new opportunities for racial gerrymandering. Current projections indicate that 20 of the 24 congressional districts now held by black members of Congress must be redrawn, some substantially. On the other hand, seven states, mostly in the South and Southwest, are projected to gain new seats—California (seven), Texas and Florida (three each), and Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, and Arizona (one each). These reallocations of congressional seats carry with them the opportunity to create new majority black and Hispanic districts.

The passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act caused minority political participation to bloom, not only in the South and Southwest, but nationwide. Nonetheless, despite tremendous progress, the Act's promise of equitable access to the electoral process remains unfulfilled. While practically all of the overt obstacles to political participation have been removed, subtle barriers remain. To eliminate these last remnants of inequity, civil rights advocates are pursuing in the courts the struggle that was begun by marchers in Selma two and a half decades ago. ■

Welfare Reform Short-Changed

State-Run Programs to Bring Welfare Recipients into the Job Market Are Threatened by Limited Funds and Employment Opportunities

by Katherine McFate

The 1988 Family Support Act (FSA), designed to reform the longstanding Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program, must be implemented in every state by October. The Act aims to transform AFDC, the nation's primary system of income support for poor families, into an education, training, and employment program, one that will help heads of welfare families enter the labor market. But state budget difficulties and lagging political commitment to the measure are likely to undermine the impact of the Act's reforms.

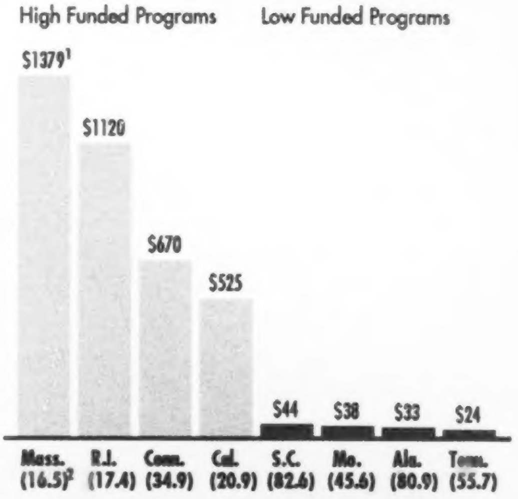
The federal government will provide matching grants to states to support the mandated services under the Job Opportunities and Basic Skills (JOBS) section of the Act. Long-term welfare recipients and those at risk of becoming long-term dependents (e.g., teen mothers and high school dropouts are targeted). Blacks are overrepresented among each of these groups.

The Act's reforms are likely to be very costly. Educational programs and support services such as child care (which enables welfare mothers to participate in employment programs) have already proven more expensive than was anticipated. For example, administrators of California's welfare-to-work program, Greater Avenues for Independence Gain, initially underestimated the number of AFDC recipients needing basic remedial education; instead of 15 percent, it turned out that 60 percent required this service. The price tag for California's education component therefore mushroomed by 130 percent. In other states, half the funds spent on welfare-to-work programs go to pay for child care expenses alone.

States where large numbers of black AFDC clients are concentrated vary greatly in both their commitment and their financial ability to support JOBS programs. At one end of the welfare-to-work continuum are California, Michigan, Ohio, New York, Illinois, and Pennsylvania (whose AFDC clients are majority white) which began offering a comprehensive array of services to AFDC family heads several years before FSA passed. At the other end stand most of the Southern states, where a majority of AFDC clients are black. The funding of their employment and training programs has been minimal.

Even in the most progressive states, welfare-to-work programs are imperiled by growing budget crises. This year, New York State has a deficit of $4 billion; California's is $3 billion, and Illinois' is $300 million. New Jersey had to impose $1.4 billion in new taxes to head off its own deficit. Although Michigan, Ohio, and Pennsylvania have not yet had to impose new taxes, their governors have announced belt-tightening spending policies.

1988 Funding Levels Per Recipient for Welfare-to-Work Programs in Selected States



1 Funding per participant in state welfare-to-work programs
2 Black AFDC recipients as a % of state AFDC population
Source: National Governors' Association; U.S. House Ways and Means Committee

JOBS is predicated on the notion that the economy would provide employment to the heads of poor families—if they just had the proper skills and adequate day care support. Yet even in areas with low unemployment, black joblessness rates are usually twice those of whites. It is not clear that these disparities would disappear even if differences in educational attainment did.

If regional and local economies cannot absorb new, low-skilled labor market entrants, JOBS will not be able to increase employment or reduce the welfare rolls. If politicians and the general public come to believe that inability to move into the labor force stems from a lack of motivation on the part of the poor themselves, rather than from the limited opportunities available to them, the stage could be set for a more punitive approach in the next round of welfare reforms. ■

Ms. McFate is a senior research associate in social policy at the Joint Center. This article is excerpted from her working paper, "Blacks and the Family Support Act: The Geography of Welfare Reform." Copies can be obtained by writing the Joint Center.

Discrimination and Immigration Law

(Continued from page 4)

planning and billions of dollars. Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-Utah) describes the proposal as a search for a "holy grail" that is "doomed to be costly, lengthy, and futile."

Limiting Equal Protection

Advocates of repeal reject the idea that we must accept limits on the Fourteenth Amendment principles of equal protection if illegal immigration is to be stopped. Hispanic congressman Edward Roybal (D-Cal.) says, "In my opinion, the failure of Congress to repeal employer sanctions is tantamount to the abdication of its responsibility to protect the rights of Americans, regardless of their race or ethnic origin."

Those who advocate ending sanctions also challenge the GAO's conclusion that IRCA has reduced illegal immigration significantly. According to Raul Yzaguirre, president of La Raza, it is too early to pronounce sanctions effective. Yzaguirre notes that reports from the U.S. Department of Labor as well as anecdotal reports from other sources "indicate that undocumented persons continue to find work in the United States while working in conditions worse than before."

Roybal and Hatch have introduced the Employer Sanctions Repeal Act of 1990 (H.R.5185 and S.2797), which would enforce immigration laws at the border rather than in the workplace. The bill would expand funding and personnel for the border patrol. It would expand the resources for the Labor Department's Wage and Hour Division, which investigates violations concerning high concentrations of undocumented aliens, and fix stiffer penalties for smuggling and harboring undocumented immigrants. In effect, the provisions of the bill would once again make the Immigration and Naturalization Service solely an enforcement agency, relieving it of the responsibilities of a regulator and educator of the nation's employers.

The Future for Employer Sanctions

The prospects for overturning sanctions in the near future by means of the Roybal-Hatch proposal are not good. Legislators may be reluctant to back out of the carefully-crafted compromise in the 1986 law, whereby the amnesty program was accepted in exchange for approval of the sanctions. Recent action by the House Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugee Affairs, and International Law indicates that neither repeal nor reform will be considered by Congress this fall.

Both houses await the report of a special task force appointed in June by the attorney general to study IRCA-related discrimination. Headed by John Dunne, assistant attorney general for civil rights, the task force expects to report its findings to Congress in September.

The controversy over employer sanctions underscores the fundamental dilemma facing a free society that has an overwhelmingly immigrant population yet wishes to control its borders. Many legislators believe that employer sanctions are the least offensive way to control our borders. Heightened border enforcement measures could threaten the civil liberties and rights of many American citizens and legal residents who live along the border, promoting unlawful searches and seizures. If employer sanctions remain on the books, Congress will have to carefully monitor their impact. If they are repealed, legislators will have to return to the drawing board to find an effective and fair means of enforcing immigration policies.

In a year when Congress's commitment to civil rights has already been affirmed by passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1990, employer sanctions pose yet another test of Congressional will to extend equal protection under the law to all Americans. ■

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The Black Caucus: 20 Years of Achievement

As They Expand Their Political Power on Capitol Hill, Black Members of Congress Face New Challenges That Test Their Unity

Import Workers or Train Americans

Immigration Reform Proposal Seeks Skilled Workers From Abroad

Souter: How Conservative?

Civil Rights Lawyer William Taylor Discusses Supreme Court Appointee David Souter With Focus *Editor David Ruffin*

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PERSPECTIVE

More Insults From Japan

Recently, a new incident was reported in the growing series of derogatory remarks made by high Japanese officials against black Americans. Justice Minister Seikoru Kajiyama, describing the harm done by the influx of prostitutes into a Tokyo neighborhood, likened the situation to racial desegregation in American cities. A news account quoted him as saying: "It is like in America when blacks move into a neighborhood and whites are forced to leave."

The Joint Center responded swiftly, calling on President Bush and the Japanese ambassador to publicly denounce these remarks. Ambassador Ryohei Murata assured me in a letter that he had communicated his concern over the incident to his government. To quell the protest unleashed by his comment, Minister Kajiyama formally withdrew his remark and apologized, first at a news conference and later directly to Michael Armacost, the U.S. ambassador in Tokyo.

This is not the first time racist and degrading references have been directed at black Americans by Japanese officials. And Minister Kajiyama's apology, while certainly called for, will not end the problem. In 1986, after his inflammatory remarks about blacks' causing the low literacy rate in the U.S., then-Prime Minister Nakasone also apologized. Then in 1988, after Liberal Democratic Party policy chief Michio Watanabe implied that black Americans do not honor their debts, he and then-Prime Minister Takeshita both apologized.

These recurring incidents reflect the stereotyping of blacks that is pervasive in Japanese popular culture. Two years ago, a furor arose over the latest "rage" in Japan: Little Black Sambo and his sister Hanna. Under protest, toys, beachwear, and other items bearing these figures were pulled from the stores. Negative stereotypes of black Americans have been evident among store window mannequins, in drawings that illustrate world maps in classroom materials, and even comic books.

Thus, ending the offensive statements by Japanese leaders about blacks requires rooting out underlying racial attitudes. This is not likely to be an easy task because such attitudes are shaped by Japanese history, culture, and popular perceptions, the latter influenced in large measure by whites from Europe and the U.S.

I recently travelled to Japan in connection with the new U.S.-Japan Project at the Joint Center. The project was launched this year to promote better communications between black Americans and the Japanese people. During that visit, I was startled to discover the degree to which racist beliefs persist among the Japanese. I was heartened, however, to learn that some individuals and groups in Japan are taking steps to examine and address those stereotypes among other Japanese.

To find negative stereotypes about black Americans halfway around the world is dismaying, but not surprising. The caricatures of Sambo and Hanna are, after all, borrowed directly from America's past. Many of the damaging media portraits of blacks that we have rejected in this country live on in reruns and syndications around the world.

It is certainly not in the interest of Japan to continue to offend black Americans whose influence in the U.S. is increasing, with 7,400 elected officials and a gross income this year of $250 billion. The Joint Center's new U.S.-Japan Project is designed to play a role in smoothing the racial friction between the Japanese and black Americans. We hope that this comprehensive program involving research, fellowships, and seminars as well as publications and video materials will establish a forum for communications and foster tolerance and understanding. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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The Black Caucus: 20 Years of Achievement

As They Expand Their Political Power on Capitol Hill, Black Members of Congress Face New Challenges That Test Their Unity

by Paul Ruffins

Born in the early Seventies, the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) emerged as the civil rights decade ended. Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy had recently been assassinated, and Richard Nixon had just been elected president. Black America watched white America's support for Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty sour into an endorsement of the "benign neglect" approach embraced by President Nixon. Yet despite these disappointments, some things had changed for the better. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 held out the promise of a level political playing field. Hundreds of thousands of black people had registered and voted for the first time, and black representation in Congress more than doubled between 1966 and the CBC's founding in 1970.

Today's roster of 24 CBC members marks the largest number of black members of Congress ever to serve at the same time. The last two decades of Caucus history have shown how increasing size brought increased influence. The challenge of the CBC's next decade will be to ensure that increasing diversity and the growing clout of its members do not result in conflict and competition.

In many ways, the original 13 members of the Congressional Black Caucus embodied a broad spectrum of black leadership styles and philosophies. There were experienced legislators such as Charles Diggs of Detroit and Augustus Hawkins of Los Angeles, some certified hell-raisers such as Shirley Chisholm of Brooklyn and William Clay of St. Louis, and energetic radicals like John Conyers, also from Detroit, and Ronald Dellums from Berkeley. Most of them had in common their active involvement in the civil rights movement.

In 1971, these 13 black legislators, at the time the greatest number yet seen since Reconstruction, decided to leverage their clout by forming an officially recognized caucus within the U.S. House of Representatives. Its goal would be to promote the general welfare of black Americans nationwide through legislation designed to meet the needs of millions of neglected citizens. In time, these strong and often contentious personalities would meld into a legislative organization that has become incredibly effective for its size.

The CBC first burst into the national spotlight in March of 1971 when it presented President Richard Nixon with a list of 60 recommendations on domestic and foreign affairs. Since that time, the Caucus has rolled up many significant legislative achievements. In 1977, Baltimore Congressman Parren Mitchell (1971-1987) successfully sponsored an amendment to the Public Works Employment Act, which provided a 10 percent minority business set-aside affecting the bill's $4 billion in federal projects. The Caucus helped defeat the 1979 Anti-Busing Amendment sponsored by Rep. Ron Mottl (D-Ohio) which would have declared busing to be unconstitutional. In 1981, the group spearheaded the movement to extend the Voting Rights Act. That was also the first year the Caucus produced its own alternative federal budget which, by advocating substantial cuts in military spending, would have reduced the federal budget deficit while increasing funding for significant social programs.

Caucus-sponsored legislation enacted in 1983 established Dr. Martin Luther King's birthday as a national holiday. In 1985, the CBC used its influence to protect critical domestic programs like social security from automatic cuts under the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings balanced budget law. The Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, imposing economic sanctions on South Africa, was passed over President Ronald Reagan's veto. And this summer, the CBC saved the Civil Rights Act of 1990 from defeat in the House by lobbying intensely for its passage and against a damaging substitute measure. Caucus members have proven to be among Congress's most prolific legislators. In 1988 alone, the 24 black representatives authored more than 420 bills and amendments.

Institutional Leadership

Any real analysis of the CBC must assess it not simply as a collection of individual members but as an institution with its own impact. The Caucus's strength is partly due to its rotating chairmanship and to the fact that leadership does not revolve around a single personality. CBC members also learned early to diversify their legislative interests. The organization's first chairman, Charles Diggs, with 16 years in Congress, counseled CBC members to spread themselves around on as many different House committees as possible. Following Diggs' advice, Caucus members today are on practically every committee and are thus able to influence the formulation of most pieces of legislation from the earliest stages.

"Diggs also reminded us," says Mitchell, "that time passes

(Continued on page 4)

Mr. Ruffins, senior editor of *Black Networking News*, is the former publications editor of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation.

quickly on the Hill, so that the seniority system would begin to work for us faster than we probably realized." Diggs was prophetic. Most CBC members proved unbeatable in their districts, and today the Caucus's 24 members chair five full committees and 18 subcommittees.

Amelia Parker, CBC executive director since 1985, notes several other benefits that the formation of an official caucus has yielded. As a group, the Caucus could consider as part of its mission the representation of millions of blacks living in the South and elsewhere who had no black representative in Congress. Within the structure of House protocol, it's considered an intrusion for one member to become involved in the affairs of another's district. But by forming the Caucus, individual black members gained an institutional vehicle for advocating the interests of black Americans nationwide. In fact, the Caucus has been so successful in its institutional advocacy that it became a prototype on Capitol Hill for the Hispanic and women's caucuses. The influence of the Caucus does not end at American borders, either—the CBC has also become a model for the Parliamentary Black Caucus in Britain.

Struggling to Build a Strong Foundation

If the CBC's main accomplishments have been in legislation and politics, its main limitations have been its mixed record of organizational development outside Congress. In 1976, it established the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation (CBCF). Unfortunately, over the years this organization has suffered a profound and continuing identity crisis. As a legally separate nonprofit organization, the CBCF cannot become involved in lobbying, campaigning, or other partisan political activities.

Both the congressional and the non-congressional members of the CBCF's board of directors have been unable to decide on a consistent focus that would not conflict with or overlap the missions of other institutions. For example, one of the Foundation's proposed functions was to perform political research. However, concentrating on research would put the CBCF into the position of reinventing the wheel because members already had access to the vast research capabilities of the Library of Congress and its Congressional Research Service.

In addition, adopting a research focus would duplicate the work of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies which also has had CBC members on its own board. Becoming involved in voter registration would have put the CBCF into competition with the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation. Finally, in addition to lacking a clear-cut mandate, the Foundation had gone without a permanent executive director since 1985.

So far, the Foundation's more consistent achievements have been its fundraising, educational programs, and Annual Legislative Weekend. When the foundation inaugurated its graduate internship program in 1976, it conducted a survey which indicated that fewer than 1,000 of the 18,000 congressional employees were black, most of them clerical and blue-collar personnel, while only about 25 black staffers held policy-making positions.

Designed to expose more black graduate students to the legislative process, the graduate internship program provided students with a stipend and placed them on congressional committees or in the offices of individual legislators. The CBCF's Annual Legislative Weekend has been a consistent success both as a fundraiser and as a networking and strategy opportunity for policy experts and political activists from around the nation. In recent years the Weekend has attracted over 30,000 participants.

The Challenges of Growth and Diversity

During the next decade the Caucus will have to respond to many political challenges, including at least two more years of a Republican administration and an increasingly conservative Supreme Court. It will also have to contend with two other developments that will undoubtedly change the way CBC members interact with each other and the Congress as a whole. These are the increasing diversity of opinion among black elected officials and CBC members' conflicting roles as they chair more committees and gain more powerful positions in the House leadership.

Several years ago, when Rep. Mervyn Dymally (D-Cal.) was chairing the Caucus, he was asked how he saw his role. Dymally responded, "I see my role as coordinating various members' points of view. When we are considering a particularly important piece of legislation, I alert the members to any issues that could be divisive, and try to reconcile any conflicting viewpoints."

Although CBC members are in agreement on issues more than 90 percent of the time, conflicts among them seem to be growing more common. Reps. Major Owens (D-N.Y.) and Harold Ford (D-Tenn.) publicly took opposite positions in a debate over Ford's welfare reform bill. Rep. Mike Espy (D-Miss.) broke with the Caucus's longstanding pro gun control policy when he appeared in an advertisement for the National Rifle Association. He explained that, unlike urban districts where handguns are associated with an epidemic of violent crime, in his district many constituents still hunt for food, and it wasn't that long ago when black people in the South needed firearms to protect themselves from the Ku Klux Klan.

More recently, Rep. George Crockett of Detroit went on record as favoring the legalization of drugs, despite the fact that his CBC colleague Charles Rangel from Harlem, who chairs the House Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control, had strongly criticized Baltimore Mayor Kurt Schmoke for making a similar suggestion.

In its early years the Caucus also weathered disagreements, such as the decision by Shirley Chisholm to run for president in 1972 without consulting her colleagues, and in 1974 when Andy Young broke with the Caucus and supported the confirmation of Gerald Ford as vice president.

As the Caucus grows, incorporating members from new geographical regions, from white majority districts, and from the Republican Party, disagreements within the group will probably increase. From four to six new members are expected to join the Caucus in the 102nd Congress this

(Continued on back page)

September 1990

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

TrendLetter has prepared the following campaign update, highlighting selected 1990 elections involving black candidates.

CALIFORNIA

MAXINE WATERS, a Democratic assemblywoman from Los Angeles, is expected to be victorious in her bid to take the 29th Congressional District seat held by retiring Congressman AUGUSTUS "GUS" HAWKINS. Her opponents, Republican BILL DEWITT and Libertarian WAHEED R. BOCTOR, are relatively unknown in this predominantly black and Hispanic district, which is overwhelmingly Democratic. She easily defeated three opponents in the June 5 Democratic primary by garnering 88 percent of the vote.

Waters has represented the district, which encompasses Lynwood, South Gate, and south-central Los Angeles, in the California Assembly for 14 years, and she has established a reputation as a dedicated and conscientious legislator who champions issues affecting minorities, women, children, and the poor. She is also responsible for initiating legislation that divested state funds from corporations doing business in South Africa. In May of 1984, she was elected to chair the Democratic Caucus, one of the highest leadership positions in the state assembly. Well known in national political circles, Waters is a member of the Democratic National Committee and served as a delegate for Rev. **JESSE JACKSON** at the 1984 and 1988 Democratic national conventions.

In Oakland, city council member WILSON RILES, JR., and State Assemblyman ELIHU HARRIS will face off in the November 6 general election in a bid for the mayor's seat being vacated by LIONEL WILSON, who served for 13 years. Wilson lost his reelection bid in the June 5 primary, coming in third in a field of nine candidates. Harris, who was not expected to do as well as he did in the primary, was the top votegetter, receiving 34,733 votes to Riles' 18,505. An attorney who has served in the assembly for 12 years, Harris represents the state's 13th district, which includes the entire city of Oakland and the cities of Alameda and Emeryville. He chairs the assembly's Joint Legislative Audit Committee and also serves on the Health, Judiciary, and Ways and Means committees. If elected, Harris says he will focus on education, drugs, and the expeditious reconstruction of the Cypress Freeway, destroyed in last year's earthquake.

Riles came in second with 18,505 votes and now faces Harris in the general election. During his 10 years as a city council member, Riles has built up strong name recognition as an advocate for affordable housing and for the protection of residential neighborhoods from downtown development. He also led the fight to have the city designated a nuclear-free zone. He had unsuccessfully opposed incumbent Mayor Wilson in 1985, garnering 31 percent of the vote.

CONNECTICUT

Three-term Republican Alderman GARY FRANKS from Waterbury is vying for Connecticut's 5th Congressional District seat, being vacated by three-term Republican Congressman JOHN ROWLAND, who is running for governor. If Franks wins, he will become the first black congressman from Connecticut. Franks, a 37-year-old, Yale-educated businessman, has significant experience in industrial and labor relations. He has worked for two Fortune 500 companies, Continental Can and Chesebrough Ponds, and he owns a real estate investment firm. Franks has served as president pro tempore of the board of aldermen, vice chairman of the zoning commission, and chairman of the Rules and Redevelopment committees. In 1986, he made an unsuccessful bid for the state comptroller's office. Although he did not win, his supporters are quick to point out that he carried the 5th district in that election.

Franks' opponent in November is former three-term Democratic congressman TOBY MOFFETT, who represented the 6th district of Connecticut which includes Bristol and New Britain. He gave up his seat in 1982 to run unsuccessfully for the U.S. Senate against then-Senator **LOWELL P. WEICKER, JR.**, a Republican. Since

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1982, Moffett has worked as a television news anchor for the NBC affiliate in Hartford. The 5th district, which is 95 percent white, includes Danbury and Waterbury. Once a Democratic stronghold, the district has voted Republican in the past four presidential elections.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Vowing to "clean house," Washington business executive SHARON PRATT DIXON did the unexpected on September 11 and won the Democratic nomination for mayor. Dixon's surprising victory was a coup d'etat of sorts, built on strong support from both white and black voters. Her vote margins in the black community exceeded those won in 1978 by outgoing Mayor MARION BARRY, in his first election, which like Dixon's was a surprise upset. She soundly defeated two veteran city council members, JOHN RAY and CHARLENE DREW JARVIS, whom polls had indicated were the front runners throughout the summer, and white City Council Chairman DAVID A. CLARKE and Congressional Delegate WALTER E. FAUNTROY, both of whom faired poorly in the five-way mayoral primary.

A native Washingtonian, lawyer, former utility company executive, and former treasurer of the Democratic National Committee, Dixon came from behind in the polls and in fundraising to garner 35 percent of the vote. **Dixon's campaign did not gain momentum until after Labor Day, when two major endorsements—by the *Washington Post* and a widely read weekly newspaper, the *City Paper*—gave her credibility as a viable candidate. Prior to these endorsements, she was viewed as fighting a losing battle. She had a small staff and minimal funding, and was widely criticized as "cold and aloof." The theme of change permeated Dixon's campaign and was reinforced by broom-brandishing campaign workers and supporters, a symbol of the "clean sweep" she promised in the city government. If elected, Dixon has said she will clean house not with a broom but with a shovel: by firing 2,000 middle-management officials in the city agencies.**

The primary results were a surprise-filled culmination to a politically hot summer in the nation's capital. The elections were held just a month after the city's mayor was found guilty on one count of cocaine possession. The three-month trial was a local version of "sex, lies, and videotape" that raised questions of ethics, morality, and racial polarization. Consequently, talk of the need for healing, renewal, dignity, integrity, and of course change dominated the campaign. At the 11th hour, Barry silenced speculation that he would run for a fourth term as mayor. Instead, his name will appear on the November ballot as an independent candidate for an at-large city council seat.

In November, Dixon will face Republican candidate **MAURICE TURNER**, who joined the Republican Party last summer. Turner served on the city's police force for 32 years and as chief for eight. Although the District is overwhelmingly Democratic, Turner has high name recognition and is well respected in the city.

Former Equal Employment Opportunity Commission Chair ELEANOR HOLMES NORTON won the Democratic nomination for the city's non-voting delegate seat in Congress. Pre-primary polls had consistently indicated that Norton was the frontrunner. However, four days before the primary, a rival campaign faxed information to the press regarding Norton's failure to file D.C. income tax returns for the past seven years. In an attempt to control the damage, Norton apologized for what she said was an oversight (for which she blamed husband ED NORTON). Despite the revelations about her taxes, Norton's lead held and she won with 40 percent of the vote, beating out a cast of four other Democrats, including white city council member BETTY ANN KANE, her closest competitor; former Barry administration official JOSEPH YELDELL; newspaper publisher, attorney, and former aide to the House Committee on the District of Columbia DONALD TEMPLE; and city drug czar STERLING TUCKER. In November, Norton will face black Republican **HARRY SINGLETON**, an attorney and former Reagan administration official. Like Dixon, Norton has never held elective office. Both are expected to easily defeat their GOP opponents.

Rev. Jesse Jackson was also victorious, winning the Democratic nomination for the position of "shadow" senator for the District of Columbia. In that position, Jackson is expected to be one of the District's chief lobbyists for statehood.

LOUISIANA

On October 6, black State Senator WILLIAM JEFFERSON and attorney MARC MORIAL (the son of ERNEST "DUTCH" MORIAL, the city's first black mayor) topped a field of twelve candidates competing to

replace retiring New Orleans Congresswoman LINDY BOGGS, who represents Louisiana's 59 percent black 2nd district. The crowded contest included six blacks and six whites. Jefferson, who got 24 percent of the votes, and Morial, who got 23 percent, will face each other in a November 6 runoff.

Jefferson is a 43-year-old Harvard Law School graduate who has served in the state senate since 1979 and chairs the Government Affairs and Finance Committee. He has made two unsuccessful runs for mayor of New Orleans. The latest, in 1986, came down to a bitter run-off contest. The victor in that race, Mayor **SIDNEY BARTHELEMY**, endorsed Jefferson for the congressional seat. Barthelemy and former mayor Morial were political rivals.

This campaign is Marc Morial's first bid for public office. Morial, 32, operates his own law firm and is an adjunct professor of political science at Xavier University in New Orleans. He was also a congressional aide to the late U.S. representative **MICKEY LELAND** from Houston.

Black Democratic State Senator CLEO FIELDS failed in his bid to gain the state's 8th Congressional District seat. Fields, with 30 percent of the vote, finished second behind two-term Republican incumbent CLYDE HOLLOWAY who garnered 56 percent of the tally. Democratic State Senator JOE McPHEARSON came in third with 14 percent. A nurseryman, Holloway has opposed busing to achieve school desegregation, and he helped create a private school as an alternative to integrated schools. Fields was elected to the Louisiana Senate in 1987 at the age of 24, representing a district which includes his hometown, Baton Rouge. He authored the law that created an inner-city economic development program in the state as well as legislation designating schools and college campuses as drug-free zones.

Dr. **EDWARD RENWICK**, director of the Institute for Policy Studies and an associate professor of political science at Loyola University in New Orleans, says that although the district traditionally votes Democratic, when race is involved the residents vote race.

NEBRASKA

In May of this year, following his unsuccessful bid for his party's attorney general nomination, white Republican JOHN DeCAMP said Nebraskans were not ready to elect a black attorney general. The remark was aimed at EUGENE "GENE" CRUMP, 43, the black Democrat who is now the state's deputy attorney general. Crump will test the validity of DeCamp's statement in November by attempting to become the first black attorney general in the state, which has a black population of only three percent and no history of electing black politicians to statewide or congressional office.

Crump received 58 percent of the vote in the May 15 Democratic primary, defeating his lone opponent, Lincoln attorney ALLEN EUREK, by more than 20,000 votes. Crump has worked in the state attorney general's office since 1985, when he was appointed acting attorney general for three months by then governor and now U.S. Senator BOB KERREY, a Democrat. Before joining the attorney general's office, Crump had been legal counsel and human services advisor to Kerrey. Crump has been endorsed by his current boss, Republican Attorney General **ROBERT SPIRE**, and by Kerrey. His opponent is Republican attorney **DON STENBERG**, who has his own law firm in Lincoln. The latest public opinion polling indicates that more than 50 percent of Nebraskans are undecided on the attorney general race.

NORTH CAROLINA

The mud slinging has begun in the Tarheel state, where three-term Republican U.S. Senator JESSE HELMS is attempting to hold his seat against a challenge from former Charlotte mayor HARVEY GANTT. As this "Old South versus New South" race enters the home stretch, the well-financed Helms is barraging the airwaves with negative ads which, if not countered, could seriously damage Gantt, who does not have the money to launch a media counterattack of equal size.

Helms is running four television spots for every one of Gantt's, according to **DAVID CANON**, a professor of political science at Duke University. Canon says that although the ads distort Gantt's position, particularly on sensitive issues like abortion, "they are all very effective ads because television is the name of the game in North Carolina." The Helms spots portray Gantt as a big-spending liberal who is out of step with North Carolina values. Some of them suggest that Gantt, who is pro-choice, would support abortion during the final weeks of pregnancy and that Gannt is calling for military budget cuts even as the nation is poised for armed conflict in the Persian Gulf. Dr. **SAMUEL MOSELEY**, a political science professor at North Carolina A & T University in Greensboro, agrees that Gantt is "definitely at a disadvantage" because of the Helms blitz, but notes that Gantt is receiving significant air time on the evening news. Moseley also points out that, although Helms spent more than $16 million in his last Senate campaign, he only edged out his opponent, former North Carolina Governor **JAMES B. HUNT, JR.**, by four percentage points.

Gantt is an architect and businessman with 11 years of public service to the city of Charlotte, having served as council member and from 1983 to 1987 as the city's first black mayor. In last May's primary he defeated five other Democrats, receiving 38 percent of the vote, and went on to beat district attorney **MICHAEL EASLEY** from Southport in the June 5 run-off. Gantt is campaigning on issues he believes matter to working class voters like jobs, education, and health care. Helms, by contrast, is a "family-God-and-country" traditionalist with an abysmal voting record on civil rights, South African sanctions, funding for social programs, and other issues important to most black Americans.

The latest polls show the two candidates running neck-and-neck, and analysts Canon and Moseley concur that strong black voter turnout will be key if Gantt is to win in November. "There is a concern that blacks will not come out in large numbers and that Gantt must get a tremendous turnout in the black community, at least 90 percent," says Moseley. Canon adds that although the state has a black voting-age population of about 20 percent, "in the last two elections, only 14 percent of black voters went to the polls."

OHIO

In 1970, after initially signing on with the Dallas Cowboys football team, J. KENNETH BLACKWELL decided he would rather go to graduate school. So he left the Cowboys' training camp and went back home to study educational psychology at Xavier University in Cincinnati. Blackwell later served on the Cincinnati City Council for six two-year terms. In 1979, his fellow council members elected him mayor. A Jimmy Carter supporter in 1976, Blackwell was a member of a nonpartisan political reform organization called the Charter Committee of Greater Cincinnati before he joined the Republican Party after the 1980 election of RONALD REAGAN to the White House.

Last March, Blackwell resigned as undersecretary in the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), returning to Cincinnati to run for Ohio's 1st Congressional District seat. His candidacy is supported by President Bush, Vice President DAN QUAYLE, HUD Secretary JACK KEMP, and Lieutenant Colonel OLIVER NORTH.

Unopposed in the primary, Blackwell faces current Cincinnati Mayor CHARLES LUKEN, the son of the district's incumbent congressman, THOMAS LUKEN, in the general election. The two candidates vary little on most issues—both oppose abortion, are against tax increases, and support a "no quota" civil rights bill. In August, Blackwell was denounced by the president of the Cincinnati NAACP, **FRANK ALLISON**, for standing with President Bush in opposition to the Civil Rights Act of 1990. Blackwell and Luken were once political allies on the city council. Blackwell was vice mayor under Luken from 1985 to 1987, and the two worked together in an informal bipartisan coalition within the city council. This is expected to be a tight race.

VERMONT

In her second bid for Congress, black university professor DOLORES SANDOVAL won the Democratic primary for the state's at-large U.S. House seat by the skin of her teeth, getting just 263 more votes than her closest competitor, PETER DIAMONDSTONE. In November she will face Republican incumbent and former lieutenant governor PETER SMITH and independent candidate BERNARD SANDERS, who finished third in the September 11 primary. Sanders, a self-proclaimed Socialist and four-term mayor of Burlington, unsuccessfully ran for Congress as a Democrat in 1988 as did Sandoval.

With a background in African and Third World studies, Sandoval has taught education at the University of Vermont for 20 years. Declaring that she stands "for civil rights and human rights," she advocates a federal family leave policy, support for reproductive rights, and a national health care system.

Import Workers or Train Americans

Immigration Reform Proposal Seeks Skilled Workers From Abroad

by Christopher Brown

This is the second of two articles developed as a part of ongoing Joint Center research on U.S. immigration policy, being conducted under the supervision of Milton Morris, director of research.

For more than a century the words of American poet Emma Lazarus inscribed at the base of the Statue of Liberty — "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free" — have welcomed immigrants arriving from around the world. The promise held by those words, however, has also masked a deep ambivalence that Americans have always felt toward newcomers to the nation's shores. Today, as Congress attempts to affirm the nation's commitment to a more generous immigration policy, that ambivalence persists.

On October 3 the House of Representatives approved the Family Unity and Employment Opportunity Immigration Act of 1990 (H.R. 4300), sponsored by Rep. Bruce Morrison (D-Conn.). The Act would raise the number of visas available to foreign nationals from around 538,000 a year to approximately 775,000 a year. A greater emphasis than before will be placed on admitting immigrants with skills needed by American business and industry, increasing by about 50 percent the annual number of skills-based visas (from 54,000 to 188,000 including their families). A bill approved by the Senate last summer, the Immigration Act of 1989 (S.358), sponsored by Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), would call for even more employment-based visas (96,000) but limit total immigration to 630,000.

The interest in supplementing the American workforce with immigrant labor arises from studies that predict an approaching shortage of skilled workers. The Hudson Institute's *Workforce 2000* report, released in 1988, predicts that the number of new jobs for low-skilled workers will decline in the coming years while "the fastest-growing jobs will be in professional, technical, and sales fields requiring the highest education and skill levels." Sponsors of H.R. 4300 believe that our current immigration policy unnecessarily frustrates employers who wish to hire foreign workers to fill particular shortages. In effect, they argue, current policy retards American productivity and competitiveness in the international marketplace. In fields such as nursing and engineering, where many positions go unfilled, foreign professionals must wait as long as two and a half years after applying before they are authorized to work here.

However, the new legislation has prompted concerns. Some legislators fear that large numbers of immigrants will depress the wages and working conditions of native workers and undermine American institutions and values. Others are worried that importing skilled employees will detract from efforts to improve the education and training of native workers. These concerns have become more acute as the nation's cities struggle to provide education, housing, health care, and jobs for the persistently poor.

The legislative debate over increased immigration reveals the differing perceptions of how higher numbers will affect American workers, and how those increases may change the prospects for training American workers to fill the jobs of the future.

Earlier efforts to block immigration were based more on racial and ethnic considerations. In the 1850s, an anti-immigrant party, called the "Know-Nothings," succeeded in electing six governors and dominating many state legislatures. In the 1920s, the same nativist spirit produced laws that nearly stopped immigration from everywhere but Western Europe. Not until the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 did Congress eliminate the Eurocentric bias of immigration quotas.

The 1965 Act also created a "preference system," which made reuniting families the central priority in allocating visas. As a result, more than 90 percent of the legal immigrants currently admitted each year enter because they have close relatives living in the United States. Asians and Latin Americans have benefited the most from this family-based policy, as they now constitute 85 percent of immigrants. Some legislators are concerned that immigrants from other regions of the world have been unfairly excluded because they lack family connections. Although the majority of the additional visas proposed by H.R. 4300 would be allocated to the relatives of U.S. residents, a new category of "diversity visas" would be reserved for natives of currently low-admission countries in Europe and Africa.

The broader issue of immigration policy is complex and multifaceted, and proposals to increase family-based immigration and add diversity visas have proven just as controversial as the labor-based approach. At the heart of the issue is a disagreement over whether increased immigration does more good or more harm to American society.

Mr. Brown, a summer intern at the Joint Center, graduated from Yale University in June and will be attending Oxford University as a Rhodes Scholar in October.

Immigration and the American Workforce

A key debating point is the nature of the labor shortage predicted by the *Workforce 2000* report. Opponents of increased immigration ask how shortages can exist when seven million Americans are unemployed. Rep. Lamar Smith (R-Tex.), who led the fight against H.R. 4300, suggested that employers are not offering high enough wages to attract American workers: "I happen to think that we have more of a wage shortage than a labor shortage."

However, in the skilled professions, the American workforce is proving increasingly unable to meet the needs of many employers. According to recent surveys, two-thirds of American employers find the current pool of entry-level job applicants insufficiently prepared in spelling, writing, mathematics, oral communication, problem solving, and work habits. Doris Meissner of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace argues that America does not face a *labor* shortage so much as a *skills* shortage, a direct result of poor educational preparation.

In some sectors of the economy, the problems posed by a shortage of skilled workers already demand immediate attention. In the Chicago area, where 2,300 jobs for precision metalworkers are offered each year, few candidates are available. An instructor at a Chicago-area vocational center recently complained that he had 80 job opportunities on his bulletin board and only three qualified students to recommend. The absence of available workers results partly from poor vocational training. Because of the difficulty of recruiting American workers, the National Tooling and Manufacturing Association is among the many industry organizations calling for more immigrants with skills. Rep. Morrison, who argues that importing these workers from overseas is in everyone's interest, says, "You need a growing economy to produce jobs for unemployed workers, and labor shortages can be a barrier to economic growth."

According to the supporters of the Morrison bill, a growing body of evidence shows that immigrants do not displace American workers but, instead, heighten overall productivity. They believe unskilled immigrants frequently fill a niche where domestic workers are in inadequate supply, for example in agricultural work and the garment industry. And growth expands job opportunities for the American worker. A recent report published by the Department of Labor, "The Effects of Immigration on the U.S. Economy and Labor Market," found that "even in the short run, with many jobs depending on the balance of trade, immigrants benefit native-born workers by helping some U.S. firms remain competitive internationally."

Room Enough for All?

The rosy view about the positive effect immigration will have on American society has been challenged by opponents who fear that higher numbers of immigrants will exacerbate current economic and social problems. To many policymakers, the prospect of welcoming foreign workers on the basis of their labor skills signals a lack of interest in cultivating the human talent already here, a neglect which in the past has limited the opportunities of black workers. And while immigration has benefitted the U.S. economy as a whole, the immediate consequences for black Americans have not always been so positive. As historian John Hope Franklin has noted, for European immigrants, "there was room enough for all who sought to escape the burdens of class, religious, racial, and other discriminations." Yet for black Americans, discrimination and segregation meant there was rarely room enough to assimilate them into the political and economic life of the country.

Proposals to expand immigration inevitably give rise to questions aout America's commitment to its own huddled masses. Dr. Frank Morris of Morgan State University in Baltimore, who has studied the impact of immigration on urban areas, believes that African-Americans "bear a disproportionate share" of competition with immigrants for jobs, housing, social services, and public education resources. One example is the Los Angeles contract cleaning industry, where non-unionized firms that hire immigrant workers have underbid unionized firms that hire native workers, a disproportionate share of whom are black.

John Bryant (D-Tex.), one of only three Democrats on the Judiciary Committee to oppose H.R. 4300, fears that filling more jobs with foreign workers would discourage employers from training and hiring Americans. Bryant and other opponents cite the shortages of skilled workers indicated in *Workforce 2000* as reasons for employers to look to minorities, the elderly, the disabled, and America's underemployed to fill the jobs of the future. Bryant, who also supports sanctions against employers who hire illegal immigrants, insists that the future of the nation's indigenous workforce must be a priority. "There is a vast quantity of unemployed in the United States," Bryant says. "At some point, we have to use our marginal resources to build a strong American population to fill jobs."

There is agreement among many members of Congress that immigration reform is overdue, but considerable disagreement over how legislation should be framed. H.R. 4300 calls for a much greater increase in family-based immigration than the Senate bill and a smaller, though still sizable, increase in labor-based immigration. For these or an other solutions to be workable over the long term, immigration reforms must strike an appropriate balance between American businesses' need for skilled labor and American workers' need for the training that will enable them to compete for jobs. As we open the doors wider to allow more immigrants the opportunity to build a better life here, we must be sure that we do not, at the same time, close the door to native-born Americans. ■

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Souter: How Conservative?

Civil Rights Lawyer William Taylor Discusses Supreme Court Appointee David Souter With Focus *Editor David Ruffin*

Mr. Taylor began his career in 1954 as a lawyer with the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, was staff director of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in the 1960s, and helped win several school desegregation victories in the courts. As a legislative strategist, he played a major role in securing passage of the Voting Rights Act extension in 1982 and the Civil Rights Restoration Act in 1988. He has also taught civil rights law at Catholic and Georgetown universities.

Q. *How would you compare David Souter with Justice William Brennan, the man he will replace?*

A. Brennan is one of the greatest justices in the history of the Court. He was the prime architect, both as an intellectual force and a consensus maker, of the modern era of constitutional interpretation where people unable to obtain civil rights and civil liberties protections elsewhere in the political system were recognized and protected by the courts. There's every reason to believe that Mr. Souter is more conservative than Justice Brennan, but after combing the record and after days of hearings, there are great questions left about what kind of judge he will be.

Q. *What are the sharpest differences between the two?*

A. Of most concern about Souter is his record as attorney general for New Hampshire. During that period, he attacked federal laws that bar literacy tests of voters and on federal laws and policies that require the collection of racial data. He apparently did not understand at that time the basis and the need for such laws and the power of Congress to protect against racial discrimination. Furthermore, during the hearings Souter said he does not see a basis for outlawing the death penalty as cruel and unusual, a view which contrasts sharply with that of Justice Brennan.

Q. *Are there reasons to be optimistic?*

A. Some of the views Souter expressed were not inconsistent with those of Brennan. Souter did see a need for a living Constitution where judges were free—indeed compelled—to derive interpretations that met today's needs from the broad principles of the 14th Amendment and other provisions of the Constitution. He provided a vigorous defense of the *Brown* v. *Board of Education* decision, even though he acknowledged that there was no specific history of the 14th Amendment indicating it was intended to deal with segregated schools.

Souter said that protections in affirmative action programs do not have to be limited to an individual person who is the proven victim of discrimination. He also said that the obligation with respect to discrimination was not simply to end it but to undo its effects.

Q. *What future civil right issues are at stake?*

A. The Court will face a series of issues that will define the government's obligation to undo the effects of segregation and other forms of discrimination. The Supreme Court's first case this term is the *Dowell* case from Oklahoma City, which addresses how long the obligation lasts to take effective action to desegregate schools. Is there a time when a school district can simply say "we've done enough," the courts agree, and they go back to so-called neighborhood schools even if there's re-segregation?

There will continue to be cases in the voting rights area—particularly after the 1990 Census—on how, if you draw lines in a certain way, it dilutes minority voting power. New laws on housing discrimination passed by Congress in 1988 and the comprehensive Americans With Disabilities Act of 1990 barring discrimination against the handicapped will undoubtedly generate questions of how expansive these laws are.

Cases involving more narrowly tailored, more carefully crafted state and local minority business set-aside programs adhering to the Court's 1989 *Croson* decision will also probably come up. These are all likely to be hard-fought and closely contested issues.

Q. *What long-term impact will Souter have on future High Court decisions?*

A. There has been the development of a conservative bloc on the Court that seems ready to ignore the practical situations people face in this country, and to impose its own ideological stamp on every issue. A key example is the series of 1989 fair employment decisions which, ignoring past rulings by the Warren and Burger courts, put new barriers in the way of minorities and women seeking employment and advancement in the workplace. There was no real basis for these rulings in the law, in precedent, in history, or in sensible national public policy. If Judge Souter becomes an acquiescent or active part of that bloc, things will only get worse.

Q. *Do you think that Souter will favor overturning established Court precedents?*

A. My feeling is that temperamentally and philosophically he is not an activist for change like Judge Scalia. But we still don't know how he will vote on *Roe* v. *Wade* or new cases involving equal employment opportunity. Over the last 35 years, the Supreme Court has been a unifying and healing institution in the country. It may create great controversy, as it did with the *Brown* decision, but without that ruling this country would be riven by even more racial conflict and divisiveness than it is now. With the new wave of immigration and ethnic and intergroup tensions, we need unifying institutions in our society. A test of Judge Souter is whether he's able to understand the significance of the larger issues and to respond to them. ■

Black Caucus: 20 Years of Achievement

(Continued from page 4)

January—and one or two may be Republicans. Moreover, redistricting may create new districts in Georgia, North Carolina, Texas, and Virginia, which may extend additional electoral opportunities to black candidates. Furthermore, with the retirement of white New Orleans Congresswoman Lindy Boggs, who represents Louisiana's 59-percent-black 2nd district, all existing majority-black congressional districts in the country are expected to be held by black representatives after the November elections. Black members of the House who represent districts with white majorities are likely to bring different sets of priorities to Congress.

As the Caucus expands, more frequent differences of opinion are inevitable, making it even more difficult for all the CBC members to continue to vote as a bloc. Few analysts believe, however, that diversity is necessarily a threat to CBC's solidarity or to its ability to achieve functional unity on critical issues. According to former congressman Parren Mitchell, "Issues of housing and poverty will be the same in New York City or Yazoo City, Mississippi. Mike Espy has taken a different tack on gun control but it hasn't hurt the Caucus. The bonds of collegiality are strong enough to stand some dissension."

Congressman Julian Dixon of Los Angeles, formerly chairman of the Caucus and president of the CBCF, believes that disagreements between CBC members do not constitute a weakness but merely reflect new political realities. "We are not monolithic," he says, "and I would venture to say that if you polled the entire black community there would be no overarching consensus on questions of busing, abortion, gun control, or even capital punishment. So if the black community isn't of one opinion, why should CBC members always agree?"

In terms of becoming bipartisan, Amelia Parker observes that, "people overestimate the problems we would have incorporating Republicans. First, we have had Republican members in the past—such as Virgin Islands Delegate Melvin Evans and Massachusetts Senator Ed Brooke. We worked very effectively with Brooke when he was in the Senate, and we currently have Republican associate members of the CBC." Parker also points out that both the women's and Hispanic caucuses have functioned effectively as bipartisan organizations.

Divided Loyalty of Leadership

Ultimately, the greater challenge to CBC unity might not be increased diversity but greater authority. Now that more CBC members have leadership positions in the Congress, there are more possibilities for competing loyalties. When he was chairman of the House Budget Committee, Rep. William Gray (D-Penn.) could not simultaneously support both the CBC alternative budget and the budget plan of his own committee. That kind of conflict may be compounded now that he has become House majority whip responsible for ensuring that the Democratic legislative agenda moves on the House floor. And as chairman of the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, Julian Dixon has had to investigate other CBC members. But those very positions of authority that can make it harder for the Caucus to be unified can also make it easier for the Caucus to be effective.

In the end, there is little chance that an organization which survived Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan will fall victim to its own success or to the inevitable compromises that make up the day-to-day fabric of political life on Capitol Hill. In the future, CBC members will probably disagree more often but have even greater impact when they all speak with one voice—which is most of the time. And as the Caucus grows, it accommodates an expanding spectrum of black political opinion under a spreading umbrella of shared goals and common aspirations. ■

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